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# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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VOLUME XXIV.

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JULY, 1916—APRIL, 1917.

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## CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIV.

JULY, 1916

THE PLANETESIMAL HYPOTHESIS, Daniel Buchanan .....	1
ADDRESS AT CONVOCATION, D. H. Browne .....	16
IMAGIST POETRY: A REVIEW, J. F. Macdonald.....	23
THE HUDSON BAY RAILROAD, John A. Cormie .....	38
THE COUNTRY ELEVATOR IN THE CANADIAN WEST, W. C. Clark .....	46
SOME MODERN CONCEPTIONS OF SPONTANEOUS GEN- ERATION, Guilford B. Reed .....	69
DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY IN THE MODERN STATE, James Cappon .....	76
CURRENT EVENTS, A. S. Ferguson, O. D. Skelton .....	115

OCTOBER, 1916

HISTORY AS A GUIDE TO THE PRESENT, E. F. Scott .....	153
CANADIAN FOREST AND FOREST FIRES, W. L. Goodwin....	163
THE NEW SARTOR, W. M. C. ....	168
BERGSON'S THEORY OF INTELLECT AND REALITY, Norman J. Symons .....	177
SONNET—The Mystic, A. Beatrice Hickson .....	192
THE ONTARIO GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, W. E. Macpherson.....	193
THE BEGINNING OF MELODRAMA, W. E. McNeill .....	215
THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIA, L. P. Chambers .....	228
CURRENT EVENTS, A. S. Ferguson .....	236



CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIV—(*Continued*).

JANUARY, 1917

A DUTCH UNIVERSITY, A. L. Clark .....	261
TENNYSON'S CLERICAL CHARACTERS, T. E. Holling.....	280
THE CONQUEST OF THE AIR BY CHEMISTRY, W. L. Goodwin	287
STATE DIRECTED EMIGRATION TO THE OVERSEAS DO- MINIONS — A POLICY FOR THE IMPERIAL GOVERN- MENT AFTER THE WAR, Andrew T. Drummond.....	297
THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS AND THE WAR, Jas. Cappon	302
A BIOGRAPHY OF LAKE ONTARIO, Kirtley F. Mather.....	321
THE ROYAL DISALLOWANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS, A. G. Dorland . . . . .	338
CURRENT EVENTS: President Wilson,s Diplomacy; Dark Forces, James Cappon . . . . .	371

APRIL, 1917

THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES, W. G. Jordan .....	389
WHY BRITAIN ENTERED THE WORLD WAR, E. Griffith-Jones	401
THE FEDERAL UNION OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES AND COMMERCIAL UNION WITH CANADA, Andrew T. Drum- mond . . . . .	410
THE LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ELIJAH STORIES, A. V. Brown .....	429
MEDICINE IN THE TALMUD, Julius J. Price .....	421
THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IN CANADA, O. D. Skelton .....	438
NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE ISSUE ABROAD, O. D. Skelton..	469
A PLEA FOR THE WIDER STUDY OF CLASSICAL LIFE AND HISTORY, W L.. Grant .....	478
CURRENT EVENTS: W. G. Jordan; A. S. Ferguson .....	484







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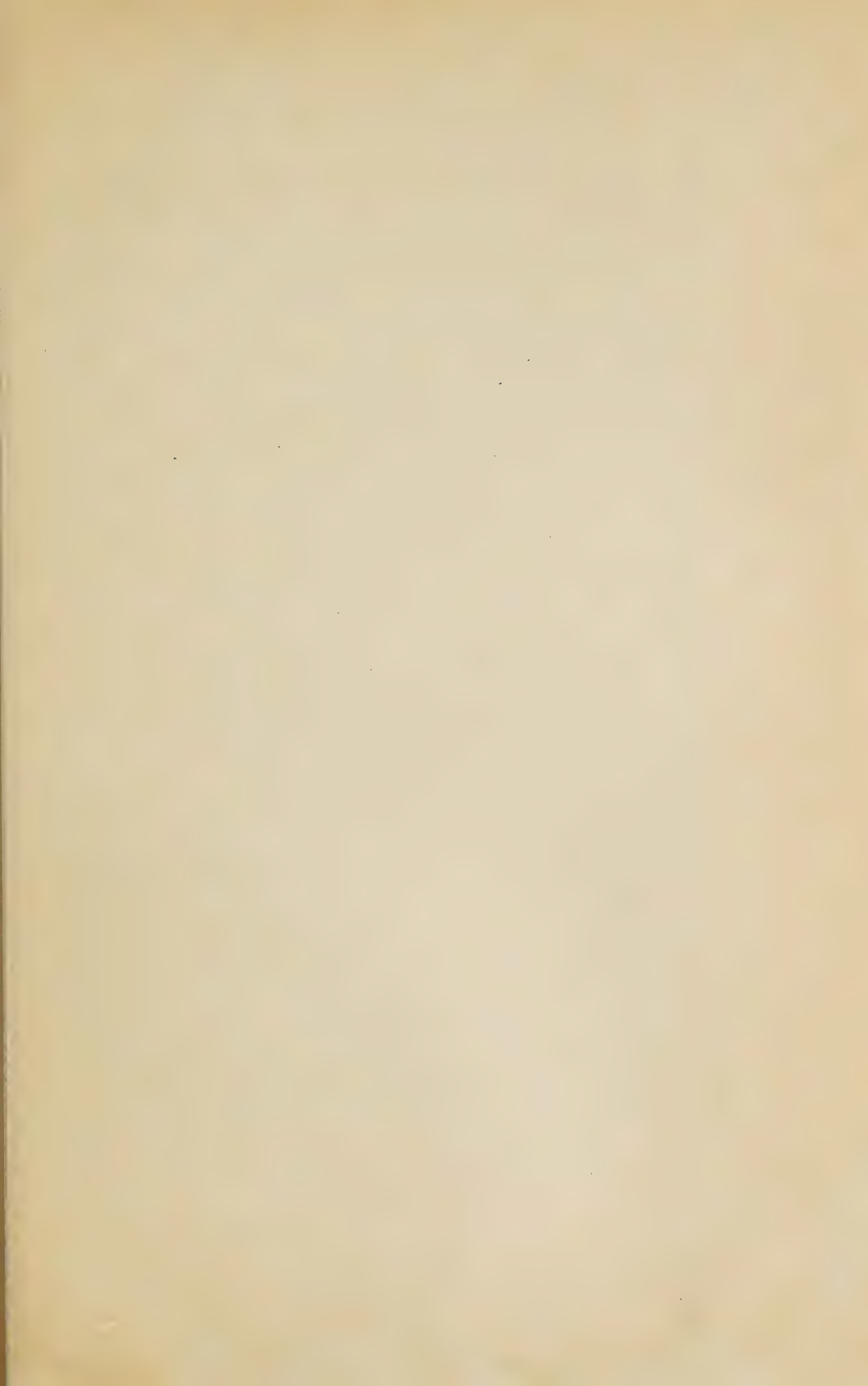
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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE PLANETESIMAL HYPOTHESIS .....	1
<i>DANIEL BUCHANAN.</i>	
ADDRESS AT CONVOCATION .....	16
<i>D. H. BROWNE.</i>	
IMAGIST POETRY: A REVIEW .....	23
<i>J. F. MACDONALD.</i>	
THE HUDSON BAY RAILROAD .....	38
<i>JOHN A. CORMIE.</i>	
THE COUNTRY ELEVATOR IN THE CANADIAN WEST .....	46
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Plate 1.  
The Net-work Nebula in Cygnus.





Plate 2.  
The Great Nebula in Orion.



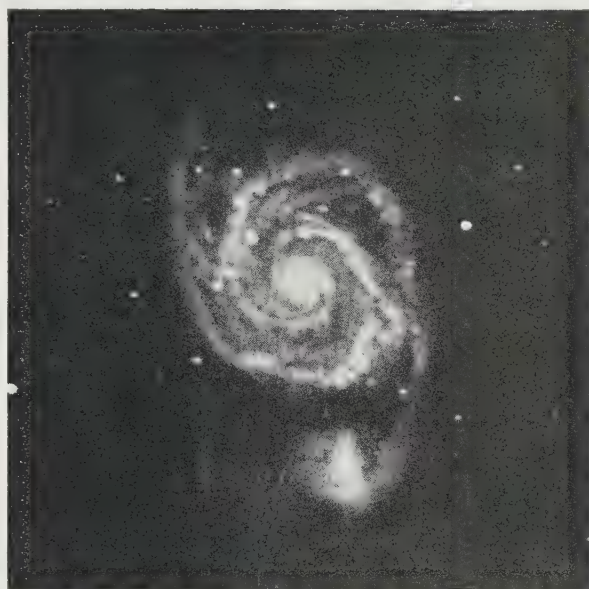
Plate 3.  
The Trifid Nebula in Sagittarius.





Plate 4.  
The Spiral Nebula in Andromeda.

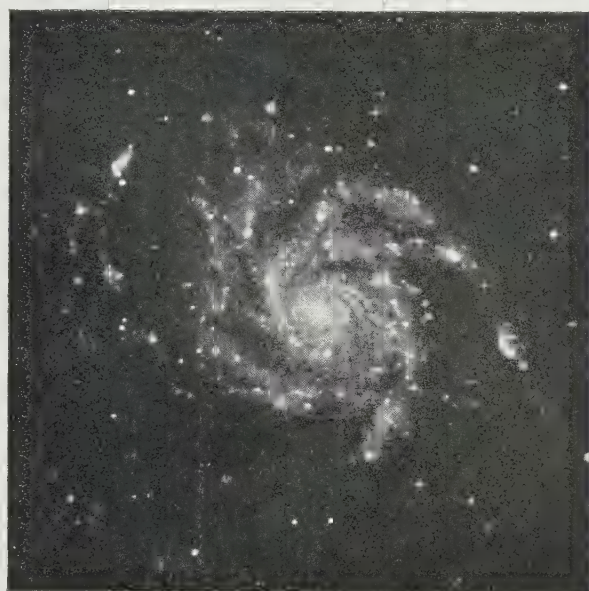
Plate 5—Spiral Nebulae.



M 51, Canum Venaticorum.



M 33, Trianguli.



M 101, Ursae Majoris.



H. V. 44, Camelopardi.





# Queen's Quarterly.

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VOL. XXIV

July, August, September, 1916

No. 1

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## THE PLANETESIMAL HYPOTHESIS.

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IN a previous issue of the *Quarterly*\* an attempt was made to show that the Nebular Hypothesis of Laplace, while accounting for all the motions of the members of the solar system known at the time the theory was formulated, could not be made to conform with the fundamental laws of dynamics or the facts revealed by subsequent astronomical discovery. In the present article a brief outline will be given of the Planetesimal or Spiral Nebula Hypothesis formulated about ten years ago by Professors Moulton and Chamberlain of the University of Chicago.

While the Planetesimal Hypothesis is mathematically sound and satisfies *all* the requirements of observational astronomy better than any other theory of evolution, it is not a complete genealogical tree which carries the bewildered reader through the roots, trunk and various ramifications of branches and twigs from the creation of matter up to "Trade Conditions after the War." It goes back only a generation or so in cosmic evolution and from the relative motions of the stars and the appearance of spiral nebulae *now* observed it constructs for the solar system an immediate ancestor, a spiral nebula similar to the thousands of spiral nebulae now known to exist. To be more explicit at the risk of being less accurate, it is like an attempt to explain to a schoolboy who had been orphaned when an infant what his parents were like, by referring him to the build, features and characteristics of the parents of some of his chums without taking him back even to the voyage of the Mayflower or the Norman Conquest.

The Planetesimal Hypothesis postulates no general destruction or re-creation of matter. It appeals to no event which may not properly be regarded as in the natural

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\**The Fallacy of the Nebular Theory*, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1915.



course of astronomic life. It merely assumes that one of simplest and most inevitable of astronomic events, viz., the close approach of two suns, stimulated a partial disruption or deployment of one of these suns which, in turn, gave rise to our planetary system.

The solar system is but one of the many similar families which inhabit the sidereal universe. It is patriarchal and nomadic in type, obeying the undisputed control of the head and wandering leisurely through space with only an occasional encounter with similar families. The whole solar system, with its 8 planets and their 26 moons, its 800 planetoids each revolving about the sun in periods ranging from 1.75 to 8 years, its zodiacal-light materials, its comets and meteors, occupies only a very small portion of the sidereal universe and is far removed from its nearest neighbor. Light, which travels at the rate of 186,000 miles per second, requires 4.5 hours to go from the sun to the outermost planet Neptune, and Neptune is 30 times as far from the sun as we are. Inconceivable as is the magnitude of the solar system, it is relatively minute when compared with stellar distances. The sun's next-door neighbor, *α Centauri*, is 4.5 light years distant, a light-year being the distance light would travel in a year. Some of the more remote neighbors are many times this distance from us, but perhaps definite numbers might better be omitted lest the writer's authority or veracity be brought into question.

The term "fixed stars" is a misnomer. "Fixed" stars are not fixed but are in motion. They have been called "fixed" because their motions are not discernible with the naked eye and to differentiate them from the so-called movable stars, that is the planets, whose motions may be observed during a relatively short period of time, a month or so. Stellar motions have been revealed mainly by the use of the spectograph. The motions thus discovered are called radial velocities or motions in the line of sight, that is *to* or *from* the earth. The phenomenon revealing radial velocities is similar to that which makes the whistle of a locomotive appear to have a higher pitch when it is approaching a station than when it is leaving. The apparent motions of the stars are not in general their real motions but are a compound of their real motions and the earth's motion. For instance, the stars in the neighborhood of

the constellation Lyra appear to approach us with an average velocity of about 10 miles per second. The stars on the opposite side of the heavens from Lyra appear to recede with the same average velocity. Not all the stars on one side approach or recede, but there is a great variety of velocity of approach and recession even on the same side. When the average of these velocities is taken the result stated is obtained. The conclusion is that these motions are mainly the apparent motions of the stars and that the sun itself with its retinue of attendants is sweeping through space with a velocity of 10 miles per second. Although the velocity appears very great, the path lies in a region of "magnificent distances" and it will be nearly 600,000 before the sun draws near enough to Vega, its present apparent goal, to necessitate a campaign for "preparedness" or to break off diplomatic relations. The youth of our solar system was undoubtedly spent in a very different part of space from where it now is, but the computer assures us that 450 million years will yet be required for it to travel to the boundary of the stellar universe, the outskirts of the Milky Way.

These stellar motions lead to one of the simplest and most inevitable of astronomic events, viz., a "dynamic encounter" or a near approach of two stars or suns. As the average distance between stars is 6, 7 or 8 light-years and as the average speed of the stars is 13 miles per second, one star will visit its neighbor once in 80,000 years. When the lively character of the visit is considered we do not wonder that the stars prefer to spend their energies in travelling and not in "calling." Collisions between stars are exceedingly rare but a near approach may take place frequently.

Before considering the effect upon the stars of a near approach, let us turn our attention to some of the different kinds of nebulae which have been discovered. Astronomers are agreed that the earliest forms of inorganic life are the network nebula in Cygnus, Plate 1, the Orion Nebula, Plate 2, the Trifid Nebula, Plate 3, and the background of nebulosity which embraces a great part of the Milky Way. There is no suggestion of order or system in these nebulae, but they appear as great seething clouds "without form and void." The spectograph reveals that in many cases their substance



consists of glowing gases or vapours. We must believe that they are endowed with gravitational power and are therefore in motion. By virtue of motions or of intrushing materials which strike the nebula obliquely low rotations occur, more and more spherical forms are assumed, and the first stage of stellar life has arrived. But that is an earlier story.

With the introduction of photography into practical astronomy a great many nebulae have been discovered and the majority of these are spirals. The most beautiful spiral nebula is that in Andromeda, Plate 4. It appears to the naked eye as a hazy patch of light, but its spiral form is discerned only with optical aid. In 1898 and subsequent years the late James E. Keeler of the Lick Observatory made several photographs with the three-foot Crossley reflector and in the clear air of Californian mountain peaks and by long exposures reaching up to five or more hours, he obtained several magnificent photographs of nebulae previously unknown. He estimated the number of spirals at 120,000, but the recent observations of Perrine with the same Crossley reflector and of Fath with the 60-inch Mount Wilson reflector have shown that the number of spirals discoverable with fairly short exposures far exceeds Keeler's estimate.

It is a significant fact that the irregular nebulae such as Cygnus, Orion, the Trifid, etc., are in or near the Milky Way, while the spirals in the same region are negligible. The first group forms a part of our stellar system while the spirals are very far remote and of enormous dimensions. Their avoidance of the Milky Way, however, seems to show some close relationship with it.

The photographs of spirals in Plate 5 are typical of all spirals. They consist of a central nucleus from which extend two arms that wind about the nucleus like huge protective tentacles. The nebulous matter is not distributed uniformly over the arms but secondary nuclei or "knots" are collected at various places, while dark lanes mostly void of matter reach between the coils nearly up to the central nucleus. From the way in which the materials seem to be distributed in the nebula, it is apparent that its dimensions are not maintained by gaseous expansion as in the Laplacian theory, but by the separate motions of the various secondary nuclei.

Since the spiral is the prevailing form it is altogether improbable that several thousands of these nebulae should assume this very special shape as the result of mere chance. There must be some immediate cause and a satisfactory explanation can be found when we consider the disruptive forces generated on the near approach of two suns.

As two large bodies approach, the tendency to rupture through tidal strain increases as the distance between them decreases. In 1848 Roche showed mathematically that the tidal strain of a planet upon a fluid satellite of the same density as the planet would be sufficient to break up the satellite if the distance between them is less than 2.44 times the radius of the planet. The Roche limit for the moon is 11,000 miles. Thus if the moon approached the earth to within this distance from the earth's centre, the tidal strains would be theoretically sufficient to shatter it into fragments the size of meteors or comets' heads. Besides this tidal strain there must be taken into consideration the eruptive tendencies of highly heated gaseous bodies. For example, vast eruptions called *prominences* are observed to rise up from the sun to altitudes

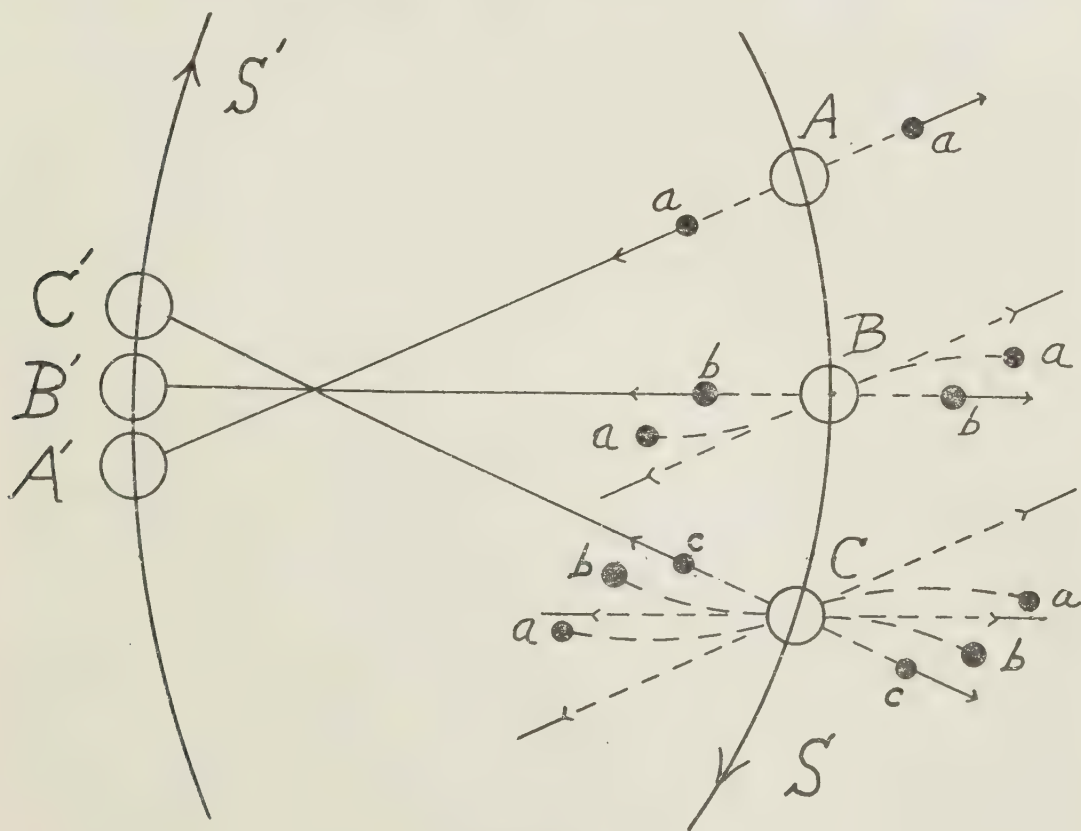


Fig. 1.



ranging from 50,000 to 300,000 miles with velocities as great as 500 to 600 miles per second. If a gaseous star has been greatly compressed by its own gravity, its internal elastic stress may greatly exceed its cohesion, and when a slight external gravitative control approaches, along the Kerry coast, for instance, the more or less enforced internal cohesion is momentarily relieved and Sinn Fein insurrections break out with characteristic violence.

Now consider the dynamic encounter or the near approach of two suns S and S', Fig. 1. We need consider only the influence upon S as a similar influence operates upon S'. The result will be the same whether the two suns approach on elliptical, parabolic or hyperbolic arcs. As the suns approach, the body S will become elongated *towards* and *away from* S' under the tidal strain. When they reach certain relative positions A and A', the elongations become concentrated into tidal cones and eruptions *a, a* take place toward and away from S'. We might take an illustration entirely at random and picture the elongated star S as a gigantic Warspite passing swiftly through the lines of a hostile fleet (momentarily released from a secure harbour) and firing, fore and aft, gaseous bolts with a non-negligible solid nucleus, however, as it sweeps near a massive neighbor. It may be entirely unnecessary to add that the gaseous bolts in the illustration are not the result of mutual attraction as in the case of the suns. As S and S' move along their orbits the dispersive action constantly lies in the line joining their centres, while the position of the materials *a, a* is in the line of the resultant of the dispersive force and the direction of motion of S. Thus when the suns reach the positions B, B', the masses *a, a* will have moved from S along the dotted curved lines indicated, while new eruptions *b, b* take place along the line of readjusted attractions. Let us suppose that the two suns are nearest when at B, B'. Since the tidal strains upon S are then greatest, the bodies *b, b* will not only be the largest eruptions but will be hurled forth with the greatest velocities. As the suns proceed on their courses the materials *a, a* and *b, b* follow the dotted lines indicated, while new eruptions *c, c* take place. This process continues until the suns have separated sufficiently to prevent further eruptions. The amount of the star S which has not been deployed

depends upon the shortest distance between the stars. If the approach is within the Roche limit of the more massive body, the smaller body may, theoretically, be entirely deployed leaving little or no nucleus. If the approach be less near the residual nucleus will be correspondingly greater. The probability is that the star  $S$  may not be completely disrupted but that a predominating nucleus may be left.

The two arms which so distinctly characterize the spirals are not the paths along which the ejected masses move but are the relative positions of these masses or "knots" as they move about the parent nucleus. Thus in Fig. 2 the dotted lines represent the paths while the heavy lines denote the relative positions. The dotted lines, 1, 1' represent the orbits of the matter first ejected. Since  $S'$  was then at a considerable distance the orbits would be smaller. The size of the orbits as well as of the ejected masses increases as the distance between  $S$

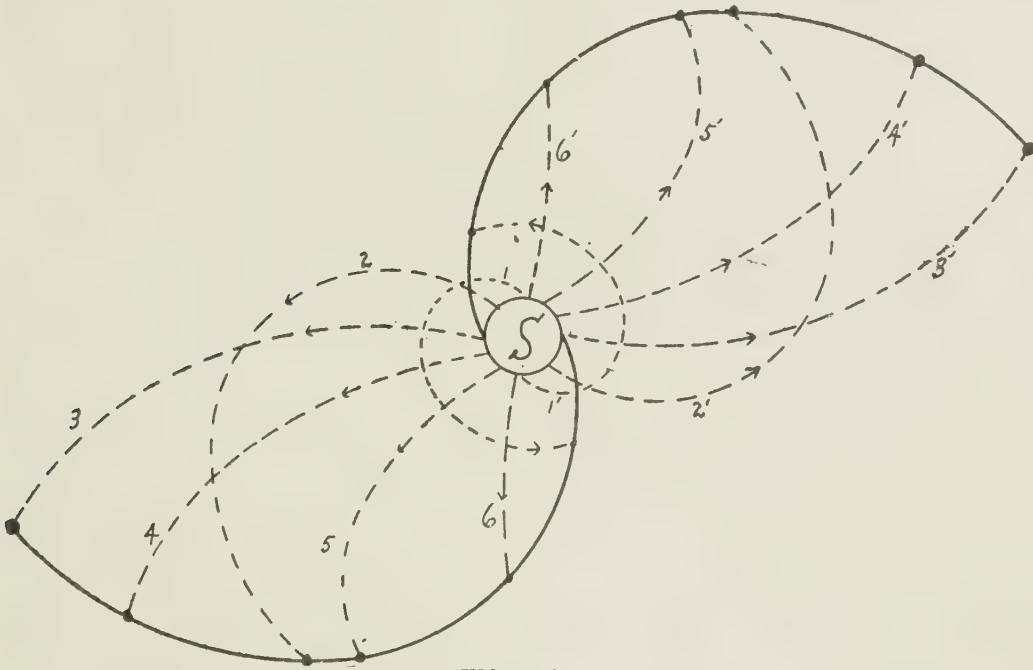


Fig. 2.

and  $S'$  diminishes. The particles describing the curves 3, 3' were ejected when  $S$  and  $S'$  were nearest, while the curves 4, 4', 5, 5', 6, 6' were described by particles cast off as the suns receded.

Some of the mass of  $S$  may be ejected with sufficient velocity to enable it to escape from the gravitative control of  $S$  and take new allegiance under  $S'$ . Other portions may reach neutral positions with respect to the great world war waged be-



tween the belligerent suns, but to be neutral in this conflict may mean being lost to the world in a literal sense as such portions may wander off to new suns entirely. The great majority of the disrupted material will remain under the gravitative control of the parent nucleus, some of it returning to the devastated territory in its original home while other portions maintain a separate existence.

This then is the simple and reasonable explanation of the formation of a spiral nebula. Our solar system developed from such a nebula, and this development brings us to the second stage in the Planetesimal Hypothesis.

Our sun developed from the residual nucleus S, while the planets were formed out of the larger "knots" in the arms of the spiral. The planets were made to revolve about the sun, all in the same direction, by the attraction of the disturbing sun S'. As the "knots" moved in their orbits they would increase in size by the accretion of smaller masses which passed sufficiently near them. The larger masses were ejected when the disturbing sun was closest and they would consequently move away from S to greater distances than the materials first cast off. Thus we see why the major planets are at greater distances from the sun than are the minor planets. The outermost planet Neptune may have been the largest mass ejected, but the nucleus which developed into Jupiter gained more by accretion.

The planes of the orbits of the various planets are not coincident. They differ not only from each other but also from the plane of the sun's equator. The inclinations to the mean plane of the system, however, diminish as the distances of the planets from the sun increase. These facts prove to be a very serious obstacle to the Laplacian theory but do not contradict the hypothesis under consideration. The nuclei which formed the inner planets were the first to leave S. As the disturbing sun S' was then at a considerable distance its attraction, while sufficient to produce an eruption, was not sufficient to bring the planes of revolution of the disrupted material entirely in coincidence with the plane of its motion. When the nuclei of the major planets were cast off the sun S' was sufficiently near to bring the planes of revolution more nearly in coincidence with the planes of their motion. Inclinations of all the planets

would be diminished by gathering up scattered materials and, as the larger planets gained more through accretion, their inclinations to the general plane of the system would be correspondingly decreased.

How did the planets acquire their spheroidal shape and their rotation? The answer to the first part of the question is contained in the answer to the second as the oblate spheroid is a figure of equilibrium assumed by a rotating body. The shape of a planet is the result of its rotation. In order that the sun and planets shall have a rotatory motion it is not necessary to postulate that the original sun *S* shall have a forward or direct rotation, that is in the direction in which the planets revolve and rotate, or indeed any rotation at all. Whatever may have been the direction of rotation of *S*, if it had any rotation, the direction in which the planets rotate is the result of impacts arising in the case of the sun from the ejected particles which had returned to it and in the case of the planets from encounters with scattered materials which crossed or approached the planetary orbits.

For the proof of this statement we must make an appeal to Celestial Mechanics, but if the reader would prefer to concede the fact rather than submit to its substantiation, he may be spared the following mildly mathematical argument.

If a particle is subjected to a central force which varies according to the Newtonian law of the inverse square, the

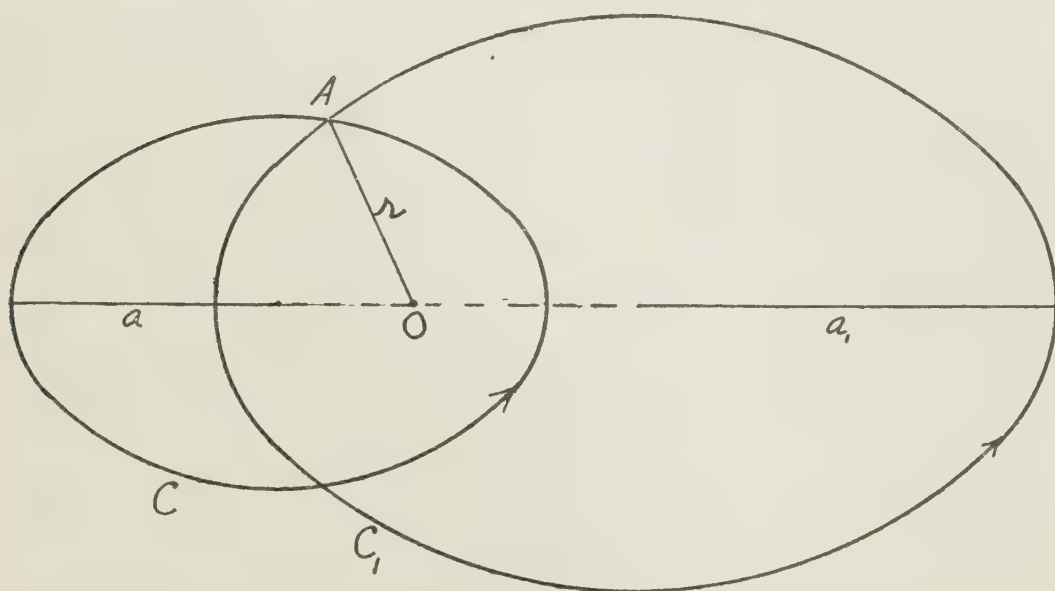


Fig. 3.



velocity with which it moves in its elliptical orbit having the centre of force as a focus is given by the formula

$$V^2 = 2/r - 1/a,$$

where  $V$  denotes the velocity,  $r$  the distance of the particle from the focus, and  $a$  the semi-major axis of the ellipse. Suppose two bodies move in orbits  $C$  and  $C_1$  about  $O$ , the centre of force, and let us denote the semi-major axes by  $a$  and  $a_1$  respectively, Fig. 3. Now consider the relative velocities,  $V$  and  $V_1$  respectively, of the two bodies when they are at  $A$  the same spectively. Now consider the relative velocities,  $V$  and  $V_1$  respectively, of the two bodies when they are at  $A$  the same distance  $r$  from the focus  $O$ . Since

$$V^2 = 2/r - 1/a \text{ and } V_1^2 = 2/r - 1/a_1,$$

and since  $r$  is the same in both equations, it follows that  $V_1$  is greater than  $V$  if  $a_1$  is greater than  $a$ . Hence we have the lemma:

*If two bodies revolve about the sun according to the law of gravitation, the body which moves in the orbit having the*

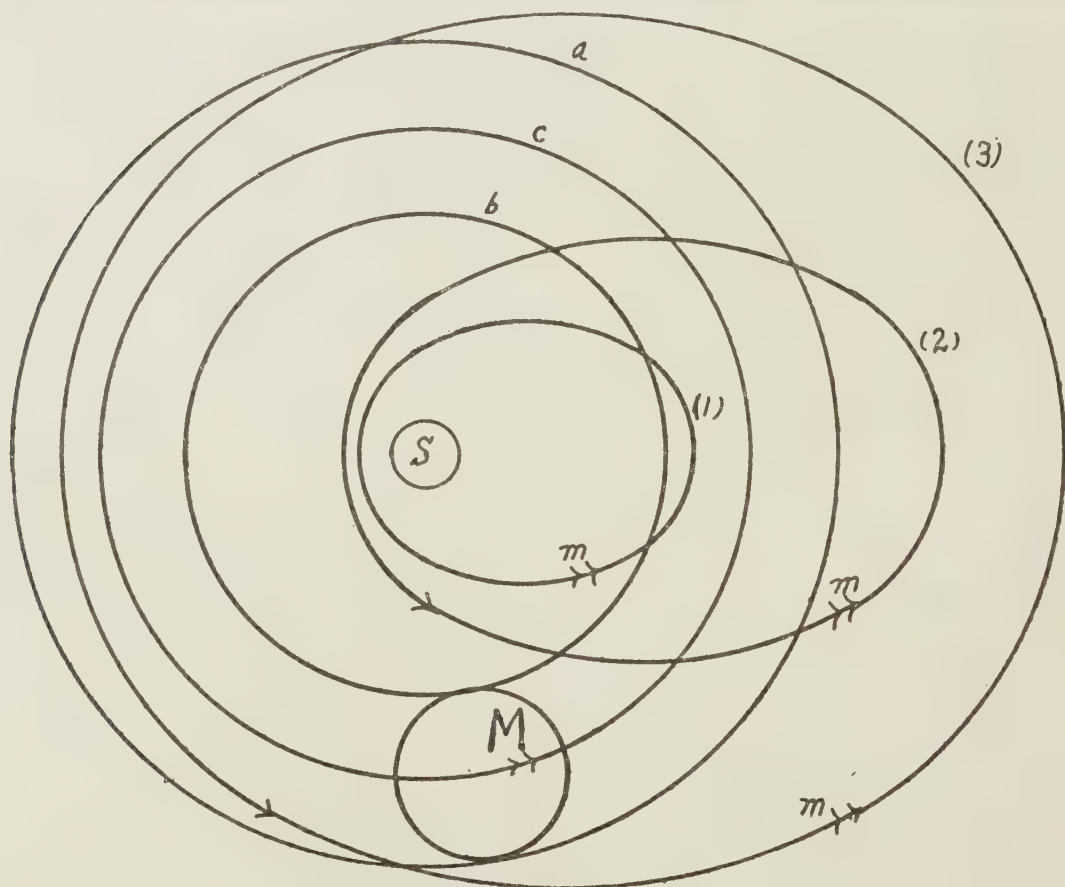


Fig. 4.

*greater major axis has the greater velocity when both bodies are at the same distance from the sun.*

Now let us apply this lemma to show that collisions with scattered materials tend to give the planets forward rotations. For simplicity in drawing we shall suppose in Fig. 4 that a planetary nucleus M revolves about the sun in a circle *c*. The argument would be precisely the same if the orbit were assumed to be an ellipse. Let us suppose that the nucleus M moves between the two circles *a* and *b*. There are three classes of orbits of scattered materials which M may encounter in its revolution, (1) those whose orbits lie within *c*, (2) those whose orbits cross *c*, and (3) those whose orbits lie wholly outside of *c*. Obviously only the orbits of (1) and (3) which cross the circles *a* and *b* respectively provide collisions. Consider first a collision with a body *m* moving in orbit (1). Since the major axis of the orbit of M is greater than the major axis of the orbit of *m*, the planetary nucleus M has a greater velocity than *m* when both are at the same distance from the sun or when they collide. Consequently *the planet overtakes the particle* and since the collision takes place at a point on M between the planet and the sun, the resulting tendency is towards a *forward* rotation. When the planet collides with a particle moving in orbit (3) the velocity of the particle is greater than that of the planet, according to the lemma, and consequently *the particle overtakes the planet*. As the collision takes place at a point on the planet remote from the sun, the resulting tendency is towards a *forward* rotation. When the planet collides with a particle moving in orbit (3) the velocity of the particle is greater than that of the planet, according to the lemma, and consequently *the particle overtakes the planet*. As the collision takes place at a point on the planet remote from the sun, the resulting tendency is likewise towards a *forward* rotation. In both cases collisions may occur tangentially and these are more effective in producing rotation than those which occur centrally. In the case of particles moving in orbits of class (2), collisions may occur more or less centrally but these do not materially effect the rotation of the planet M. Tangential collisions tend to produce forward or retrograde rotations according as the semi-major axes of the orbits of the particles are less than or greater than the radius of the



circle *c*. These opposing tendencies will about counterbalance and their influence on the rotation of the planet may be neglected. Hence the two classes of bodies (1) and (3) which are more efficient in producing rotation tend to give the planet a *forward* rotation while the tendencies of the less efficient bodies of class (2) mutually destroy one another.

According to the foregoing argument, it would be expected that the larger planets would rotate faster than the smaller ones as they would receive more bombardment from the scattered materials and at points farther from the axes of rotation. The following table speaks for itself:

Planet	Equat. diam. in miles	Period of rotation.
Mercury . . . . .	2,765	88 days, rotates once in a revolution
Venus . . . . .	7,826	225 days, rotates once in a revolution
Earth . . . . .	7,918	24 <sup>h</sup>
Mars . . . . .	4,352	24 <sup>h</sup> 37 <sup>m</sup>
Jupiter . . . . .	90,190	9 <sup>h</sup> 50 <sup>m</sup> to 57 <sup>m</sup>
Saturn . . . . .	76,470	10 <sup>h</sup> 38 <sup>m</sup>
Uranus . . . . .	34,900	10 <sup>h</sup> to 12 <sup>h</sup>
Neptune . . . . .	32,900	unknown.

The effect of tidal friction of the sun upon Mercury and Venus has been sufficient to alter whatever periods of rotations they may have had so that the planets now keep approximately the same face towards the sun. This condition of affairs exists between the earth and moon. The sun exercises a similar influence over the other planets but it is inappreciable owing to their greater distances.

The forward rotation of the sun itself in a period of about 25 days can likewise be accounted for without attributing a similar rotation to the original nucleus. The enormous tides produced on S would tend to give it a rotation in the direction in which S' moved. Further, a considerable quantity of the material which was ejected and had its straight line orbit changed to an elliptical orbit would again return to the sun and in such a way as to give the sun a forward rotation. Both of these influences were more predominant in the equatorial region and that accounts for the observed phenomenon of

equatorial accelerations, that is, the equatorial regions rotate faster than the higher latitudes.

Let us now consider the origin and revolution of the various satellites. When the planetary nuclei left the sun they were accompanied by smaller secondary nuclei which had sufficient velocities to prevent them from being precipitated upon the planets or the sun. These independent nuclei formed the satellites.

When such a body assumed the new rôle of satellite, it could revolve about its primary in either the forward or retrograde directions and in a plane which might be highly inclined to the plane of the planet's orbit. Consider first the case of satellites with highly inclined orbits. High inclinations, as in the case of the satellites of Uranus and Neptune, would not be expected on the basis of the Planetesimal Hypothesis but they do not directly contradict it. Whenever such a satellite passed through the plane of motion of its primary, that is twice in a revolution, it would encounter scattered materials and this would tend to decrease its speed of revolution. With a retardation in revolution and an increase in the mass of either primary or satellite there would be a corresponding decrease in the size of the satellite's orbit. If the satellite were sufficiently far away from its primary when it was "captured" so as to endure these successive diminutions in orbit until all the obstructing materials had been cleared away, its separate existence would be assured; if not, it would be precipitated upon the planet. Thus only a few satellites having highly inclined orbits survived the strenuous days of infancy and now triumphantly present themselves as almost insurmountable obstacles to any theory of cosmogony.

Satellites having low inclinations to the planes of their respective primaries move in both the forward and retrograde directions but forward revolutions predominate. The retrograde satellites are the eighth and ninth of Jupiter and the ninth of Saturn. If we consider in Fig. 4 the planet to be situated at the centre of the small circle *M* and the satellite to move on the circumference of this small circle, then the arguments used to show that collisions tend to give a forward rotation to a planet may be used here to show that similar collisions of a satellite with the scattered materials which it encounters



tend to increase or decrease its velocity of revolution about its primary according as the motion is direct or retrograde respectively. When there is an increase or decrease in this velocity there is a proportionate increase or decrease in the size of the orbit. On the whole, collisions tend to prevent a direct satellite from being drawn upon its planet as both primary and satellite increase in size. There is just the opposite tendency in the case of a retrograde satellite. Hence the chances for a retrograde satellite to preserve its separate existence are very few unless it was far removed from its primary where there would be less frequent collisions and a greater reserve of orbit to sacrifice before the satellite would capitulate. Retrograde satellites are consequently fewer in number than direct satellites. When a planet has both kinds of satellites we would expect the retrograde to be more distant than the direct and this is actually the case with the retrograde satellites which have been discovered.

Three phenomena which contradict the Nebular theory remain to be discussed. They are the revolution of Mars' satellite Phobos, Saturn's rings and the planetoids.

The difficulty with Phobos is that it persists in revolving about three times as fast as the planet rotates. The period of the satellite was originally longer but with the increase in size of both itself and the planet the period decreased until it assumed the present rate. The rings of Saturn are within the Roche limit of the planet and the disruptive tendencies of the tidal strains of the planet more than counterbalance the accumulating tendencies of any predominating nuclei. Collisions have been frequent in the rings but they have tended to pulverize the nuclei. Divergencies of motion have been destroyed and all the particles move in the same plane but with varying periods. The planetoids have remained as separate nuclei because the collective tendencies of mutual gravitation have been overcome by the disturbing influences of the near-by massive neighbor Jupiter.

Having thus brought the solar family into its primitive state of existence the Planetesimal Hypothesis leaves to the geologist the comparatively simple task of clothing a planet with an atmosphere and making it habitable where possible or capable of showing "canals" to a neighbor.

In the spring evenings the sunset sky is illumined with a soft hazy wedge of light stretching up from the horizon—the zodiacal light. The mathematical astronomer who adheres to the Planetesimal Hypothesis looks upon this wedge of light with mingled feelings of delight and dread; delight, because he believes that this light is produced by the small particles which must hover near the sun according to his theory; dread, because he knows that these particles may contain the primitive but pulverized remains of a planetary system which eked out its merry round of time prior to the aspirations of S' for “a place in the sun” or for “world dominion.” When our sun has again passed near another unfriendly neighbor, another world war will ensue. Sacred treaties in the form of Nautical Almanacs and Ephemerides will become obsolete “scraps of paper.” Old kingdoms will shoot forth as gas-bolts more or less poisonous according to geographical location, planets and satellites will pour forth as flaming liquids, new nuclei will spring forth exultantly and more glorious dominions will arise and be peopled in due course by supermen of superior culture. In their spring sky another soft hazy wedge of monumental light may once more be visible at sunset but let us hope it will be a warning to beware the world menace enunciated in the Planetesimal Hypothesis.

DANIEL BUCHANAN.



## ADDRESS AT CONVOCATION.

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Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Gentlemen of the Convocation and Students of Queen's University:

There are days in a man's life which he marks with a white stone, as days never to be forgotten. Such a day was that a year ago when I saw your late beloved Chancellor confer for the last time in his life the degrees upon your graduates. Such another day is this, when you do me an honor which leaves me most keenly conscious of my own limitations. A University such as this stands God-mother to many generations. It rests its benediction upon the heads of those who have received here their education, and who go out into the world to carry forward its traditions. It calls back to itself, as foster children, men from all the arts of life who show themselves in sympathy with its ideals; and, granting them membership in its family by an honorary degree, it says to them, "Come, let us walk together, for your goal is our goal, and our path is your path." So, in accepting with gratitude and humility this honor, in grasping the friendly hand you hold out to me, I feel that you do this, not for anything that I have done, but because I have need of your help and inspiration; and because, in these times that try men's souls, we must make common cause in defense of those principles of liberty and justice, of honor and service which have ever characterized Queen's University.

It has seemed to me that this University has most happily expressed its principles and traditions in the choice of its past and present Chancellors. That great Engineer, whose memory we honor, saw not the difficulties in his way. His mind dwelt, not on the mountains and rivers that barred his path. He saw before him the finished creation, the mountain pierced and the rivers spanned to form the easy grades and long tangents of the highway that would bear the produce of the West to the Eastern fleets for the needs of the Empire. Without that vision Sir Sandford Fleming had been but another engineer who lived and worked and was forgotten. With the vision he became a pioneer and a prophet.

So that other engineer, whose life spans the history of modern metallurgy, saw not simply the work that lay before him. He saw what none else saw, that the times demanded the co-operation of all technical men; and, in those days when each endeavored to keep his information to himself, when each was afraid to talk freely to his fellow-men lest the fruits of his experience should be stolen from him, he boldly declared his belief that none had the right to hide his light from his fellows. This one man has done more than any other to bring about that feeling of mutual confidence and community of interest which characterizes the metallurgical fraternity today, the man whom you honor in selecting as your Chancellor, and who honors you in accepting that office, the man whom of all others we of his profession love and admire, Dr. James Douglas.

Standing here in the shadow of two such men I ask myself what was that ideal which this University recognized in them. One thing marks both, an intense love of country; and this they applied to the service of two nations whose destinies are closely interwoven. Sir Sandford's life was the happier in that he spent it directly in the service of his native land; Dr. Douglas' life is the nobler in that he has given it to the service of a country not his own. Although his life work has been the development of great interests in the United States he has always remained a Canadian citizen. His example has been ever before me. Born and educated in Ireland, I am proud to call myself an unhyphenated American; and though I have spent the best part of my life in developing great interests in Canada, I have never relinquished my American citizenship. Citizenship, whether given by birth or taken by adoption, is not lightly to be cast aside; and I feel that the reason which throughout his life has kept your Chancellor a Canadian is the very same reason that has kept me an American citizen. Look across the border at that melting-pot we call the United States, and at first glance there appears little to inspire our devotion. Especially true is this in our cities, where all the races of the world meet and dwell apart; each with its own language, its own newspapers, its own habits of thought. Yet under this crucible we believe their burns a fire that will in time melt all these heterogeneous elements into one homogeneous alloy. We believe this because we have the example of England before us. Blent of Angle and of



Saxon, of Celt and of Norman, that country has for six hundred years held wide its doors to the poor and oppressed of every land and of every faith, and from these diverse elements has grown the most virile race the world has ever seen: a race which from century to century wherever the English tongue is spoken sounds its bugle call: that might does not make right, that justice is to the weak as to the strong and that the plighted word shall not be broken.

From the reeds by Thames' side come the promise: "To no man will we sell, or delay, or deny right or justice." The Globe theater rocks with applause at the declaration "That no Italian priest shall tithe or toll in our dominions." The foreman of the jury faces the might of England's crown at the trial of the Seven Bishops with the simple words, "Not guilty, my lord." From Milton down to Wilkes rings the cry "The printing press must be free." Burke rises up to state, "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole nation. Jefferson writes, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" Lincoln, standing with bared head before the graves of Gettysburg, avows, "We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom;" and today rings out the declaration of Asquith, "We shall never sheathe the sword until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than all that she has sacrificed."

With these phrases ringing in our ears we also have faith to believe that the legend of the past is the lesson of the future and that our motto "*E pluribus unum*" is not only historically true that out of many States is made one Federation, but is also prophetically true in that out of many races shall be made one people.

Yet withal we must not close our eyes to the difficulties of our present day. For a hundred years the tide of foreign born has poured in upon us, wave after wave, increasing with each wave of prosperity, decreasing with each period of depression, till today only a little over half our population is native born of native parents. And, just as surely as this flood poured in upon us in unprecedented volume after the Civil War, so surely will it pour over Canada after this war. Remembering that our fertile plains have all passed under the plough and that Canada is the last land left for the late comer,

you will see that there confronts you the same problem we have to face.

Each of these immigrants comes here in the hope that if not he himself, yet certainly his children will have the same opportunities that you have, and that with these opportunities they may become what you are. I wish to emphasize that phrase *what you are*, for all democracy depends upon the sense of individual worth, and a nation can rise no higher than the average of its citizens. Upon what you are depends what this Dominion will become.

I will not deny that in the United States this flood of foreign born has brought about a relaxation of our national conscience. The easy prosperity we have enjoyed has lowered our moral tone and made us slow to recognize the higher issues. Believing that the principles of democracy are right, and knowing that the Constitution is based upon those principles, we drift into a laissez-faire attitude and imagine that because the foundations are sound the superstructure needs no repairs and will last forever. The result is that progress in the United States is attained by a series of catastrophes. We stay in the old structure till it tumbles about our ears and then laboriously build another. One example will suffice. Great Britain and her Colonies settled the question of slavery in 1807 and settled it peaceably, while the United States trifled with it for half a century longer and then poured out the treasures of its life blood in a four years' struggle before this blot was wiped from our escutcheon.

The difficulty lies not in the will to act, but in the power to act; for, though held up to the world as an example of pure democracy, the government of the United States, by virtue of its constitution is less adapted to meet a sudden emergency, less fitted to grapple quickly with a new condition than the government of Great Britain or of the Dominion of Canada. We place a president in office and for weal or woe the conduct of the country is in his hands for four years. You place a premier in power; and with your flexible system of tenure of office, his policy must reflect the will of the people, or you can turn him out tomorrow. From the rigidity of our constitution springs the anomaly you see in the United States today. You have but to read our newspapers to recognize what would happen if our system was as flexible as yours.



Let me read you one verse of a poem which appeared at the head of the editorial column of the New York Sun a week ago:

"Have we grown sleek with sloth?  
Sloughed the old virile spirit, taken on  
Abasement for a garment? Are we loath  
To rouse us, and to don  
The rapt heroic valor once again  
That girded us when men indeed were men?  
Caution and doubt and fear seem subtly crept  
Upon us, and inept  
We stumble, falter, palter, and we need  
Not the smooth word, but the swift searching deed.  
If bleed we must, then rather let us bleed  
Than sit inglorious, rich in all the things  
Save those which honor brings!"

I do not know any more searching indictment of our present position than this—yet it is only one straw out of many which show how the wind blows.

So we in the United States who think deeply on these things look more to Canada than to the United States as the home of pure democratic ideals in the future. A small country, of purer racial instincts, as yet unspoiled by easy circumstances and more responsive to the will of the people, you become the keepers of the national conscience, and when that conscience speaks we recognize its call. When we see as we have seen in the last two years a nation which had nothing at stake except its plighted word, spring to its feet in defense of that word we recognize here again the spirit of 1776 and the spirit of 1861; the spirit of a nation aroused.

Yet it is not of the spirit of the nation that I would speak, but of the spirit of the individual. As you are now so shall the future be, and upon your own consciousness of individual worth depends the conscious progress of this nation. To each of you comes the question of your own part therein.

Those of you who are engineers know that there is no greater triumph of your art than the building of a bridge. Can you conceive of anything more inspiring than the rush of a lighted train at night, on the level rail, across the gorge of the Niagara river, from cliff to cliff in supreme consciousness that all is well? Small wonder that the Roman emperors took as their proudest title that of "Pontifex Maximus," "the

chief bridge builder." I never see that miracle of steel without feeling with a thrill of pride that our profession is and must ever be honest. I do not need to talk to you fellow engineers about moral and intellectual honesty. You cannot bear the name without it.

Nor do I need to speak to you who have to deal with the problems of disease, and who above the operating table will play the part of God to many a stricken body. The world may never know, but you will know if you are not honest with yourself and your patients. Your skill of brain and hand, your cunning to restore the harmonious working of that marvellous mechanism we call man, your knowledge, your reputation, your authority all depend upon absolute intellectual integrity.

Some of you will go to other schools to study law. You will make that your life work, and to you perhaps will come the sorest trials of all when you realize how closely reality and appearance are interwoven in the relations of man to man, and how difficult it is to distinguish truth from falsehood. Of your conduct you are yourself the judge, and yet you must remember that law is only the shadow of justice, and that because a course of action is permitted by the statute books, that does not of necessity make the action right. "Reason is the life of the law," says Sir Edward Coke. Nay, the common law is itself nothing but reason.

Others here will enter the ministry. To you is given to build a bridge above the chasm that each must cross. I ask you, will you build it of sticks and straws, of dead creeds and forgotten dogmas; or will you build it of such honest materials as you find to your hand in the study of nature and of man? Will you make the church the world's intellectual center as it has been the world's emotional center? Remember that you are also engineers and you must use materials that meet the specifications. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report."—Can you find any stricter specification for the materials you will use than this?

There are many who hear the call of business and whose life will deal with some phase of commerce or industry. To these I have a special message. You may have an idea that



business is a crooked path in which success depends upon your holding some unfair advantage. You may believe that all great corporations are a public menace and should be suppressed. I tell you and I tell you truly that while there may be and probably always will be exceptions as long as human nature remains what it is—yet big business is clean business and the biggest business men are the cleanest men. Commerce has grown so great, the stakes involved are so vast, the number of stockholders who are interested is so large that to-day no business can afford to be any other than scrupulously honest. There is not a man connected with great commercial enterprises but will tell you the same story; that big business is clean business, for credit is the corner stone of industry, and credit depends upon confidence and confidence is based upon personal integrity and honor.

So I ask you to remember that in all our national life we get back to the gospel of individual worth, the gospel for which Great Britain is in arms today. There is only one question at issue in this struggle in which the world is involved and that is whether the nation makes the citizens or the citizens make the nation. Two ideals are struggling for the mastery. One is that the State can do no wrong, that justice must give way to expediency and the written promise must not stand in the way of material progress. This ideal is based on the belief that the laws which bind an individual need not bind a nation, for the nation is greater than those who compose it. To this belief is opposed the faith that the nation derives its power solely from the people and that those same moral laws which bind the individual bind the nation. This is England's faith, your faith, our faith; and I ask you to uphold it. For,

"A people is but the attempt of many  
to rise to the completer life of one;  
And those who live as models for the mass  
are singly of more value than they all."

D. H. BROWNE.

## IMAGIST POETRY: A REVIEW.

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IMAGIST poetry in English is just a little over two years old. It was christened in March, 1914, when The Poetry Bookshop of London published a collection of new poems under the title *Des Imagistes*. The little volume was ignored by the more conservative English journals, and even *The New Statesman* dismissed it with this curt notice: "These revolutionaries mostly employ *vers très libre* but their irregularities are usually quite inorganic and arbitrary; and they write of poppies, roses, Phoibos, Proserpina, Hermes, pomegranates, and Poseidon much as the good old reactionaries do. Mr. Pound's *The Return* is a rather strange and moving poem, and Mr. Flint's *The Swan* . . . has passages we have liked ever since we first saw them. Mr. James Joyce's *I Hear an Army* has the strength that is found in all that curious writer's work. But as for the rest, it is a case of words et praeterea nihil."

Soon there were no ears for the new school of poets. In August came the war. The German rush for Paris held the breathless attention of the world. The drive failed—failed dramatically, and the armies dug themselves in from Switzerland to the English Channel. But submarines, munitions, and Kitchener's army now filled the thoughts of England. So the Imagists turned to America, the native land of two or three of them. After all the United States is the land of promise, yes and of fulfilment, too, for prophets of new faiths and teachers of new arts, especially if the faith or the art have in it something unusual and bizarre, "something different," as the Americans say. The poetry of the new school certainly had. So their next volume appears in the New Poetry Series of Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. However, neither Mr. Pound nor Mr. Joyce is among the six contributors to "Some Imagist Poets," printed at the Riverside Press in April, 1915. It is an attractive book with its clear type, heavy paper, and dull green wrapper. In May of this year appeared a second volume of exactly the same size and format, with the title "Some Imagist Poets, 1916," and below it the threat "An Annual Anthology."



All last year the controversy about the merits of "the new poetry," as it is often called, raged in American newspapers and magazines. Papers like the *Boston Transcript* and the *Chicago Evening Post* published numerous selections, reputable weeklies like *The Dial* and *The Nation* opened their columns to discussion of its merits, *The Forum* made rather a feature of "new verse." And now even *The Canadian Magazine*, possibly through oversight, has allowed some to creep between its covers. *The Toronto Globe*, too, has given space for a mild and decorous debate about the merits and demerits of Imagist poetry. If Canadians write to *The Globe* about it in war-time, of a truth the new verse has become a serious matter. The last fortress of conventionality in America will fall when *The Ladies' Home Journal* surrenders. Luckily it as yet seems ignorant of the very existence of the enemy. But one of these days it will come out with a double page of selections from the work of the Imagists and a foreword of appreciation by Mr. Bok. The flood-gates will then be open and the torrent of liberated verse will sweep over the continent. Even without the imprimatur of Mr. Bok, nearly half of the poems published in the United States this year show that their authors have either coquetted with the new muse or flung themselves headlong into her inviting arms. Like Samuel Johnson's Criticism she seems a goddess "easy of access and forward of advance."

The person who reads only an occasional specimen of Imagist poetry is likely to wonder what theory of art its authors can hold. The six writers whose work appears in both the anthologies mentioned above have at least taken pains to set forth and to justify the faith that is in him. They make this interesting pronouncement in the preface to last year's volume:

"As it has been suggested that much of the misunderstanding of the former volume was due to the fact that we did not explain ourselves in a preface, we have thought it wise to tell the public what our aims are, and why we are banded together between one set of covers.

The poets in this volume do not represent a clique. Several of them are personally unknown to the others, but they are united by certain common principles, arrived at independently. These principles are not new; they have fallen into desuetude. They are the essentials of all great poetry, indeed of all great literature, and they are simply these:—

1. To use the language of common speech, but to employ always the *exact* word, not the nearly-exact, nor the merely decorative word.

2. To create new rhythms—as the expression of new moods—and not to copy old rhythms, which merely echo old moods. We do not insist upon “free-verse” as the only method of writing poetry. We fight for it as a principle of liberty. We believe that the individuality of a poet may often be better expressed in free-verse than in conventional forms. In poetry a new cadence means a new idea.

3. To allow absolute freedom in the choice of subject. It is not good art to write badly about aeroplanes and automobiles; nor is it necessarily bad art to write well about the past. We believe passionately in the artistic value of modern life, but we wish to point out that there is nothing so uninspiring nor so old-fashioned as an aeroplane of the year 1911.

4. To present an image (hence the name: “Imagist”). We are not a school of painters, but we believe that poetry should render particulars exactly and not deal in vague generalities, however magnificent and sonorous. It is for this reason that we oppose the cosmic poet, who seems to us to shirk the real difficulties of his art.

5. To produce poetry that is hard and clear, never blurred nor indefinite.

6. Finally, most of us believe that concentration is of the essence of poetry.

The subject of free-verse is too complicated to be discussed here. We may say briefly, that we attach the term to all that increasing amount of writing whose cadence is more marked, more definite, and closer knit than that of prose, but which is not so violently nor so obviously accented as the so-called ‘regular’ verse.”

Apparently last year’s precaution of explaining themselves in a preface has not prevented misunderstanding. This year’s preface is more than twice as long. It adds no new article of faith to the six cited above, but it does attempt to define and to justify the two central principles, “imagism” and “free verse.” Before considering these larger questions I wish to comment briefly on two or three of the minor issues.

The decision to use “the language of common speech” recalls the famous statement of Wordsworth that poetic diction should be “a selection of the language really spoken by men.” Now Coleridge, over a century ago, effectually disposed of Wordsworth’s theory. Yet here in the second decade of the twentieth century we have it solemnly put forward as one of “the essentials of all great poetry.” Coupled with it is the curious resolve “to employ always the *exact* word.” In the first place one would expect that theory of diction from a



scientist rather than a poet, and in the second place one would never suspect from reading their poems that it formed part of the Imagists' theory. Hereafter misunderstanding is to be avoided. "The 'exact' word does not mean the word which exactly describes the object in itself, it means the exact word which brings the effect of that object before the reader as it presented itself to the poet's mind at the time of writing the poem." See how this arms them against criticism. "The street-lamps in the twilight have suddenly started to bleed," writes D. H. Lawrence. Object to "bleed" as inexact and the author can answer, with a pitying smile, that "bleed" exactly represents the effect on his mind at the time of writing the poem. You may feel that he ought to consult an oculist or sign the pledge, but how can you argue with him? Is not man the measure of all things? On these premises any word can be defended as exact.

Nothing is said in this year's preface about "the language of common speech." The theory seems to have been dropped. It certainly failed often enough to square with the practice of some of the Imagists. Mr. Richard Aldington, who has declared that "directness of treatment is the first commandment," is probably the most consistent user of common speech. In a poem entitled "Childhood" he writes that

The town was dull;  
The front was dull;  
The High Street and the other street were dull  
And there was a public park I remember,  
And that was damned dull too.

His fellow-writers are not always so careful. Mr. D. H. Lawrence told us last year that

The naked lightnings in the heaven dither  
And disappear.

This year he says that he looks at "the sweeling sunset." These illustrations hardly do justice to his diction at its zenith of exactitude. In "A Woman and Her Dead Husband" is this stanza or strophe, as I think the Imagists prefer to call it:

And his eyes could see  
The white moon hang like a breast revealed  
By the slipping shawl of stars,

Could see the small stars tremble  
As the breast beneath did wield  
Systole, diastole.

I don't quite know what it means even after looking up "systole" and "diastole" in the dictionary, for how can a heart be said to "wield" its own contraction and dilation? And just where in outer space must one be to see the stars slip like a shawl from before the moon? However this strophe prepares one for the outburst a little farther on in the poem,

Oh, he was multiform—  
Which then was he among the manifold?

After due deliberation I am obliged to confess that I haven't the ghost of an idea on the question and further that, if this be the language of common speech, I have all my life associated with people who didn't speak it.

The new poets grudgingly admit that "it is not necessarily bad art to write well about the past." However, if modern subjects are chosen, they must be up to the minute. "We believe passionately in the artistic value of modern life, but we wish to point out that there is nothing so uninspiring nor so old-fashioned as an aeroplane of the year 1911." One fears that if this be true, the Imagist poems written a year ago will in 1917 be as hopelessly out of fashion as a 1915 automobile. But why shouldn't a poet, a real poet, find inspiration in an aeroplane of 1911? Might it not suggest something of the struggle by which man has at last conquered the air? Is there not even a touch of pathos in the odd-looking craft, once the hope and pride of its inventor, now thrust aside by later models to the scrap-heap or the cold immortality of a museum? An old boat left to rot on the shore touched the soul of Catullus, the ultra-modern poet of his day, two thousand years ago.

The craving for what is new finds curious expression in the second of the principles quoted above. The Imagists wish "to create new rhythms—as the expression of new moods—and not to copy old rhythms, which merely echo old moods." It is evidently assumed that the man of to-day is subject to moods that never visited the souls of his ancestors. If he is, what can be the origin of these late-born moods? They are



certainly not begotten of the simpler and grander emotions, for hope and despair, love and hate, faith and aspiration, are as old as the records of man's thought in literature. A great Greek scholar once said that he would undertake to find in the classics a parallel for any passage in modern literature, and to find a better one there. That may be an exaggeration, but it is surely clear that in limiting themselves to new moods, the Imagists are in danger of writing about what is petty or merely odd. The very titles of their poems show that the danger is a real one: "The Faun sees Snow for the First Time," "The Blue Symphony," "Lunch," "Green," "Ogre," "Stravinsky's Three Pieces "Grotesques," for String Quartet." The rhythm, where one can be detected, is indeed new, that is to say you never read any poetry that sounded like it before, and in too many cases are driven to hope that you may never have to again.

My soul  
Shrieking  
Is jolted forwards by a long hot bar—  
Into direct distances  
It pierces the small of my back.

This is part of Mr. John Gould Fletcher's experience in his *London Excursion*, a poem in which he tries to give us the effect on an excursionist of the roar and clatter and hustle of a great city. It is interesting to notice amid all the "new rhythms" of Mr. Fletcher the constant recurrence of one of the oldest and, as he uses it, crudest devices of English poetry. Here are just a few examples of his alliteration:

Black cubes close piled and some half-crumbling over,  
Clouds of dust,  
Crash of collapsing cubes.

Black shapes bending, taxi-cabs crush in the crowd.

Here is one that as a tongue-twister rivals even "The sea ceaseth and it sufficeth us," that old enemy of the budding elocutionist:

Noise, uproar, movement  
Slide me outwards,  
Black sleet shivering  
Down red walls.

There can be no doubt about that being a new rhythm or at any rate a new combination of sounds. It is followed by a stanza that I cannot refrain from quoting:

In thick jungles of green, this gyration,  
My centrifugal folly,  
Through roaring dust and futility spattered,  
Will find its own repose.

After that I feel the full force of a sentence in the preface to this year's volume, "It is not what Imagists write about which makes them hard of comprehension; it is the way they write it."

Now the way they write it differs from the well-worn ways chiefly in two things—they constantly strive to paint pictures and they generally write in free verse. The attempt to make the presentation of "images" the main business of the poet seems to me a narrow and mistaken conception. The poet, says Carlyle, "is a vates, a seer; a gift of vision has been given him. "Browning thinks of him as a man of the broadest and keenest human sympathies.

He took such cognizance of men and things,  
If any beat a horse, you felt he saw;  
If any cursed a woman, he took note.

To Matthew Arnold poetry was the "criticism of life." To the Imagists it is an art akin to painting on china. It is true they protest, "We are not a school of painters," but painting is so much the biggest part of their work that the value of this protest is lessened. Miss Lowell, in her critical study "Six French Poets," published last November, states that the distinctive modern quality in poetry is to be found in "an interest in the world apart from oneself, a contemplation of nature unencumbered by the "pathetic fallacy." She goes on to say, "the Modern gives us picture-making without comment. A somewhat old-fashioned editor once said to me that poetry was losing its nobility, its power of inspiration, because the young poets were only concerned with making pictures. I longed to ask him whether he would find a portrait by Van Dyck or Romney more appealing, if there were a little cloud issuing from the mouth of the sitter upon which, somewhere in



an upper corner, his or her sentiments might be read, after the manner of our comic papers." This calm and somewhat naïve assumption that there is no fundamental difference or even distinction between the arts of poetry and of painting rather takes one's breath away.

The aesthetics of the school are clearly revealed by the approval with which they quote this description of *Symbolisme* by the French critic, Remy de Gourmont:

"Individualism in literature, liberty of art, abandonment of existing forms. . . The sole excuse which a man can have for writing is to write down himself, to unveil for others the sort of world which mirrors itself in his individual glass. . . . He should create his own aesthetics—and we should admit as many aesthetics as there are original minds, and judge them for what they are and not what they are not." Now individualism is all very well, provided it be genuine, but I am inclined to doubt the genuineness and depth of an originality that is continually posturing and calling attention to itself. "You are not eccentric," I once heard a wise old man say by way of rebuke to a younger who had excused himself for some neglect of social duty on the ground of eccentricity. "You are not eccentric. If you were, you would be the last one to say so. The man who is really eccentric thinks everyone but himself a little queer." And so, when existing forms of art are abandoned, not in obedience to some inner necessity of spirit, but in mere imitation of a French fashion, we may expect a product that is freakish rather than truly original. In far too much of the Imagist poetry that is exactly what we find. I have not space to pile up illustrations and must rely on a few typical ones. They are not, I assure the reader, the worst examples.

Here is a little poem, *Bullion*, by Miss Amy Lowell:

My thoughts  
Chink against my ribs  
And roll about like silver hail-stones.  
I should like to spill them out,  
And pour them, all shining,  
Over you.  
But my heart is shut upon them  
And holds them straitly.

Come, You! and open my heart;  
That my thoughts torment me no longer,  
But glitter in your hair.

The idea here is one with which the poets have long been busy, but none has ever tortured it into such fantastic shape before. That metaphor of thoughts chinking against one's ribs must be based on the Homeric belief that the mind had its seat in the midriff. *Bullion* is a fair illustration of what happens in the effort to present every idea as an image. Of course, the Imagists, like other writers, occasionally have vivid little bits of description. Mr. Fletcher says:

The wind-mills, like great sun-flowers of steel,  
Lift themselves proudly over the straggling houses;  
And at their feet the deep blue-green alfalfa  
Cuts the desert like the stroke of a sword.

But the same writer can speak of arc-lamps as "blue-white death-lilies on black stems. One more example should be enough. Mr. Lawrence has this nocturne entitled *Green*:

The sky was apple-green,  
The sky was green wine held up in the sun,  
The moon was a golden petal between.  
  
She opened her eyes, and green  
They shone, clear like flowers undone,  
For the first time, now for the first time seen.

If this is not "blurred and indefinite," it is certainly not "hard and clear." Whether "she" is a cat, or a lady in moonlight, I leave to the speculation of the reader.

Enough has been said, I think, to show the fancifulness and straining after effect that come out in the purely descriptive verse of the Imagists. It is when they deal with ordinary human emotions, however, that the little coterie are at their worst. There are not half a dozen poems in the seventy odd of the two volumes that even ripple the surface of one's feelings. Indeed, I can recall only four: Mr. Lawrence's *The Mowers*, Miss Lowell's *Patterns*, and Mr. Flint's *Malady*, with the possible addition of Mr. Aldington's *Eros and Psyche*. We have all heard the dictum, "Let me make the songs of a nation and I care not who makes the laws." If the Imagists are to make the songs, it will still be necessary to choose the lawmakers



with discretion. But I cannot imagine them in that role. Browning's Cleon was not so proud of his great epos as of the little chant

So sure to rise from every fishing-bark  
When , lights at prow, the seamen haul their nets.

The Imagists have written nothing that springs unbidden to the lips of a people. It is a safe prophecy that they will write no *Men of Harlech*, no *Annie Laurie*, no *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. The two or three poems that deal with the great war are singularly futile, indeed almost fatuous. As for Mr. Lawrence's *The Ballad of Another Ophelia*, a poem presumably intended to be serious, if not tragic, I feel that it is the kind of thing a poet with a genius for parody might write as a burlesque of the school. The first stanza is enough:

Oh, the green glimmer of apples in the orchard,  
Lamps in a wash of rain,  
Oh, the wet walk of my brown hen through the stack-yard,  
Oh, tears on the window pane!

Both the imagism and the free verse of the new school are borrowed from the group of French poets who in the 90's of last century helped to found the *Mercure de France*, which has become almost the official organ of Symbolisme, and the upholder of each new movement in art. Any one who wishes to study the origins of the cult in English cannot do better than read Miss Lowell's chapters on Albert Samain, Remy de Gourmont, and Henri de Regnier. Indeed, the whole of *Six French Poets* will be found illuminating. Of course, there were precedents for free verse in English. Everyone familiar with the work of Whitman will recognize his influence in these lines from *Easter* by Mr. Flint:

You do not shrink, friend.  
There you and I here,  
Side by side, we go jesting.  
We do not seek, we do not avoid, contact.

The Imagists, strangely enough, ignore Whitman though they have a passage in this year's preface naming various earlier writers of free verse. "The name *vers libre* is new, the thing, most emphatically is not. Not new in English poetry, at any

rate. You will find something very like it in Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis*; a great deal of Milton's *Samson Agonistes* is written in it; and Matthew Arnold's *Philomela* is a shining example of it. Practically all of Henley's *London Voluntaries* are written in it, and (so potent are names) until it was christened vers libre, no one thought of objecting to it." I wish to examine the accuracy of this statement by the simple process of comparing one of the poems mentioned with a typical poem chosen out of the Imagist anthologies. Before doing so, however, it seems almost necessary to put before the reader what its apologists have to say about free verse.

In the preface to the volume for 1916 are these passages:

"The only reason that Imagism has seemed so anarchic and strange to English and American reviewers is that their minds do not easily and quickly grasp suggest the steps by which modern art has arrived at its present position. Its immediate prototype cannot be found in English or American literature, we must turn to Europe for it. With Debussy and Stravinsky in music, and Gauguin and Matisse in painting, it should have been evident to everyone that art was entering upon an era of change. But music and painting are universal languages, so we have become accustomed to new idioms in them, while we still find it hard to recognize a changed idiom in literature. The crux of the situation is just here. It is in the idiom employed. Imagism asks to be judged by different standards from those employed in Nineteenth-Century art. . . .

The laws of English metrical prosody are well known to every one concerned with the subject. But that is only one form of prosody. Other nations have had different ones: Anglo-Saxon poetry was founded upon alliteration, Greek and Roman was built upon quantity, the Oriental was formed out of repetition, and the Japanese Hokku got its effects by an exact and never-to-be-added-to series of single syllables. So it is evident that poetry can be written in many modes. That the Imagists base much of their poetry upon cadence and not upon metre makes them neither good nor bad. . . .

The definition of vers libre is—a verse-form based upon cadence. Now cadence in music is one thing, cadence in poetry quite another, since we are not dealing with tone but with rhythm. It is the sense of perfect balance of flow and rhythm. Not only must the syllables so fall as to increase and continue the movement, but the whole poem must be as rounded and recurring as the circular swing of a balanced pendulum.

The unit in vers libre is not the foot, the number of the syllables, the quantity, or the line. The unit is the strophe, which may be the whole poem, or may be only a part. . . . Also, circles can be added to circles, movement upon movement, to the poem, provided each movement completes itself, and ramifies itself naturally into the next."



This seems complicated enough in all truth. It almost disarms criticism with its standards that are "incomprehensible to men whose sole touchstone for art is the literature of one country for a period of four centuries." Moreover, the Imagists will have no other standards before them. "We are young, we are experimentalists, but we ask to be judged by our own standards, not by those which have governed other men at other times."

Even judged by their own standards, as I have already tried to show, the Imagists are by no means sure of an acquittal. They do not consistently use the "exact" word nor the language of common speech; they do not write poetry that is always "hard and clear"; they do not succeed in presenting images that can readily be visualized. They create new rhythms, indeed, or new combinations of sound, but these are often unpleasing and still oftener not rhythms or cadence at all, even according to their own definition, so far as its haziness allows one to see what it means. Here, for instance, is free verse in Mr. Fletcher's *The Empty House*:

Out from my window-sill I lean,  
And see a straight four-storied row  
Of houses.

. . . . .

Now could you see these houses,  
You would not think they ever had a prime:  
A grim four-storied serried row  
Of rooms to let—at any time  
Tenants are moving in or out.  
Families drifting down or struggling still  
To keep their heads up and not drown.  
A tragic busy pettiness  
Has settled on them all,  
But one.  
And in that one, when I came here,  
A family lived, but with its trunks packed up,  
And now that family's gone.  
Its shutterless blindless windows let you look inside  
And see the sunlight chequering the bare floor  
With patterns from the window-frames  
All day.

Now put beside these lines part of Matthew Arnold's *Philo-mela*:

Hark! ah, the Nightingale!  
The tawny-throated!

Hark! from that moonlit cedar what a burst!  
 What triumph! hark—what pain!  
 O wanderer from a Grecian shore,  
 Still, after many years, in distant lands,  
 Still nourishing in thy bewilder'd brain  
 That wild, unquench'd, deep-sunken, old-world pain—  
     Say will it never heal?  
 And can this fragrant lawn  
 With its cool trees, and night  
 And the sweet, tranquil Thames,  
 And moonshine, and the dew,  
 To thy rack'd heart and brain  
     Afford no balm?

. . . . .

Listen Eugenia—  
 How thick the bursts came crowding through the leaves:  
 Again—thou hearest!  
 Eternal Passion!  
 Eternal Pain!

It would be unfair to call attention to the difference in technique here, for instance, to the kind of art with which Mr. Fletcher makes the reader pause on the colorless phrases "of houses", "but one", and "all day", and the different art with which Arnold lets him dwell on "afford no balm", "Eternal Passion," "Eternal Pain." This is perhaps unfair, but it is certainly not unfair to call attention to the difference in rhythm. Arnold's poem, they say, is a shining example of free verse. In what does the freedom consist? Everyone who can read poetry aloud must feel that Arnold's lines are not merely rhythmical, but metrical. Every line can be scanned, that is, divided into feet recognized in English poetry. Of course the lines differ greatly from one another, but there is no line with the prose movement of "The fashionable quarter shifted" or "Its shutterless blindless windows let you look inside." And as the reader can see for himself by glancing at specimens already quoted *The Empty House* is much closer to conventional verse than many Imagist poems. No; I am afraid the Imagist will have to look elsewhere for precedents than to the poetry of Arnold or Milton. Their "free verse" is always metrical, not merely rhythmical. There are many passages in the authorized version of the English Bible that are rhythmical, for instance, The Twenty Third Psalm, but we do not call it verse.



"There are many ways of writing poetry," say the Imagists. Yes, there are—in different languages. In English, hitherto, we have had one method, based on the regular occurrence of certain combinations of accented and unaccented syllables. With this there has been combined rhyme at the ends of lines or at the beginning of words, when it is called alliteration. No group of writers with eyes on French *vers libre* can carry over into English an entirely new method of verse-making and hope to win the ear of the public. Besides, the Imagists take immensely greater liberties with the established system in English poetry, than their masters do with French prosody. French metre is based on the number of syllables in the line, and any French prose sentence of twelve syllables could conceivably be read as an Alexandrine. Surely it is a less violent innovation to write lines of different lengths under such a system than to make hash of every metre known to English prosody.

The Imagists could be left to the oblivion in which they will soon be swallowed were it not for their championing of free verse. Their "imagism" is at best only a little province in the great world of poetry. Had they even a glint of humour they could hardly be so solemn about its importance. The newest school of poets, the Spectrists, evidently think it is already dead, for Annie Knish and Emanuel Morgan write in the June *Forum* that it has been "suicidally advertised by a concerted reciprocal chorus of poet-reviewers," a phrase that is worthy of Aristophanes. But the impetus they have given free verse still lives. And the trouble with free verse is that it takes a master of metre to write it. The musician must know the scales before he can improvise. Arnold and Milton, with their mastery of English verse and the model of Greek choruses before them, can write as they did in *Philomela* and *Samson Agonistes*. But even among the six writers whose work we have been considering only Miss Lowell and Mr. Flint, the ablest of the group, have shown any skill in the handling of conventional metres. What will happen when youths and young ladies with an itch to be poets and with no practice in the art of verse-making take to *vers libre*. Hitherto the mere technical difficulty of writing a sonnet has been a safeguard to the public. Now a fountain pen, a sheet of paper, a spare half-hour, and a poem in free verse is born to worry the soul

of some poor literary editor, who can't be sure in these days of standards "incomprehensible" to old-fashioned folk, that what seems so ugly a duckling may not be after all a swan. A young lady in Toronto, for instance, is struck with the jarring discord of men training for war on the peaceful University campus. She writes to *The Globe* about it:

Utopia:  
Land of content.  
The dreamy, golden glamour of a June morning.  
Blue lilac blooms caressing the rank grass  
Where dandelions riot  
Glorious ere their swift decline;  
And scarlet blots against the tender green  
Of waving elms,  
Beside the deep, cool grey of Gothic Knox.  
Picture of Artisy!  
Alas, the scarlet  
Is the red of drilling soldiers' coats.  
The world's at war!

I am not without hope that the fashion will be short-lived. In the meantime it is hard on the public.

J. F. MACDONALD.



## THE HUDSON BAY RAILROAD.

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THE war has obscured a piece of work undertaken by the Government of Canada which is steadily nearing completion, and is believed to have an important relation to the development of a large area of Western Canada. The steel of the Hudson Bay Railroad will reach Port Nelson, on Hudson Bay, early in 1917, and the dream of a generation of western farmers will be on the point of realization.

Construction of the new road between The Pas, on the Great Saskatchewan, and Port Nelson, four hundred and twenty miles distant, was begun in 1912 and is, at the moment of writing, so far advanced that the right-of-way is cleared to the Bay, grading done to a point forty-two miles from Nelson, and the steel laid and the track partly ballasted for two hundred and forty miles from the southern terminus. The laying of steel, interrupted for the winter by the building of an immense bridge over the gorge of the Nelson River at the Manitou Rapids, is now proceeding on a division ninety miles in length over fairly level country, requiring only minor bridges, to the second crossing of the Nelson at the Kettle Rapids. From there to the Bay is a level sloping line ninety miles in length, which can be built with a minimum of difficulty.

Ever since the arrival in Canada of the first settlers in 1812, when Lord Selkirk's colonists made their way through the Strait, which Henry Hudson, two centuries before, had succeeded in penetrating, there has been a more or less well-formed opinion that the products of the western farms should in part, at least, be sent by the route, shorter by nearly one thousand miles of rail haul than the one now used, to the markets of Europe. It has been discovered, for instance, that Nelson is practically the same distance from Liverpool as Montreal. A car of wheat on its way to Europe from Regina would be on the dock at Nelson by the time it would reach Fort William by the southern system and the saving would be the thousand miles between Fort William by railroad, or the

very much longer distance by the lakes. From northern Alberta and northern Saskatchewan and the Peace River country, the saving in mileage is, of course, very much greater. All these northern districts are sparsely settled and great development must be expected in them. The benefits enjoyed by the farmers of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan will be available to their neighbors south of the American boundary.

If the war produces in western Canada a result that many students of immigration expect, there will be a very rapid increase in the population of all three provinces, and particularly of the northern sections of them. Principal Oliver, of Saskatoon, a well-known educationalist of Saskatchewan, speaking with special reference to the public school in a recent published address, said: "Europe with war debts, with crippled and disorganized industries, will not be the Europe that but yesterday flaunted the glories of its riches in the face of the whole world. If we had a flood of immigration when Clifford Sifton opened the sluice gates, now will come an avalanche." That, of course, will mean very greatly increased production.

With this there should be taken the published statement of Mr. Gutelius, that it would take the Canadian railways at least two hundred days to move last year's crop. This estimate will probably be considerably changed by the very severe weather, the abnormal snow fall and the consequent hindrance to railway traffic of the past winter. The very large wheat yield of over three hundred million bushels of 1915 will before long be far below the average annual yield of the prairie farms.

The cost of transporting the products of the farms of western Canada is so great that it is declared by agriculturalists to be a chief cause of the relatively low returns from the industry. This operates more disadvantageously the farther north and west settlement proceeds, and burns the farmer's candle at both ends, causing lower prices for his products and higher costs of the commodities he purchases.

These three conditions, the reduction of a thousand miles in the distance which now separates the wheat granaries of the west from the Liverpool warerooms, the certain large and



rapid expansion in the volume of production, the demands made upon the present railway facilities by the agricultural output, make out the case for the Hudson Bay Railroad, if there be no insuperable obstacles to its construction and operation.

There are obstacles, but are they insuperable? Perhaps the chief hindrance to the advancement of this work in the past was the attitude of the great trading companies, notably the Hudson Bay Company, which spread a cloud of darkness not only over the territory through which the road runs, but over all of western Canada. The settler drove out the trapper and the operations of the great company of Gentlemen Adventurers have been gradually forced back by the incoming settlement until now about the only territory left lies north of the Saskatchewan river. Reputed inhospitable climate and alleged barren soil have been urged as an objection to permanent settlement in districts where to-day there are no communities. Investigation has disclosed the fact that the climate of Manitoba four hundred miles north of the American boundary, on account of the absence of wind-swept plains, the presence of forests and of great bodies of water, is more endurable than that of Winnipeg or Brandon. In the summer of 1915 cultivated strawberries were produced at The Pas, the southern terminus of the road, and every year all manner of vegetables and grains are grown with success at points along the whole line. Happily the plains of western Canada are now known to be fit for habitation for others than Indians and buffalo and, in time, the darkness will lift from the territory north of the prairies.

A second difficulty of construction is due to the absence of permanent settlement along the proposed line. Apart from the groups of Indians, with an occasional trading post, with its coterie of trappers, and long established missions, there is no settlement and no mode of access but the canoe in summer and the dog train in winter. The railway had to pierce this unsettled land carrying, with its building material, all supplies of food and fodder for an army of workmen and their animals. The road could not be constructed in sections. It must be built mile upon mile from the south.

Whatever violent protestations of innocence may be made by certain eastern newspapers, there is a well defined opinion in the minds of many living west of the great lakes that a main reason for the delay in starting this enterprise and the sluggish way in which it has been carried on, has been due to powerful hostile influences in eastern Canada. This has been repudiated as maudlin nonsense. Nevertheless, there are men in the west who are not unaware of the movements of thought in even rather select eastern circles, who declare there are influences in the east unfriendly to the enterprise, because of possible rivalry. The *Toronto Globe*, in an issue last fall, evidently referring to a sinkhole which prevented the Minister of Railways going to the end of the steel on a tour of inspection in the fall of 1915, said: "The opinion among competent judges is that the Hudson Bay Railway enterprise is the biggest sinkhole into which the money of the people of Canada has ever been put." A remark of the *Manitoba Free Press* of January 29, 1916, indicated that, whatever basis there is for the belief that influences in the east are trying to defeat the project, there is important western support to that opinion: "Malevolent eastern interests may delay but they cannot defeat this great national project, designed to free to some extent the western wealth producer from his eastern financial master."

The building of a harbor at the mouth of the great river has not been easy. The Nelson drains all of the Canadian prairies, the Red River valley in the United States, and a large part of New Ontario. This immense volume of water, meeting the tide that rises twelve feet, keeps part of the mouth of the river permanently free of ice, and on part prevents ice forming to a thickness of more than ten inches. There is, however, a large area of mud flats and an unstable river bottom. While, apparently, engineering mistakes have been made, competent opinion supports the view that, though the completion of the harbor will not be child's play, the most difficult work is done and, with the laying of steel to the river bank, the building of a solid, substantial dock is only a matter of time.

Are the straits navigable? A railway can be built to the Bay, the mouth of the Nelson can be converted into a great



harbor, but can the Hudson Strait be penetrated for a period each year sufficiently long to justify the attempt to operate this northern route? On the answer to that question hinges the whole problem. The Hudson Strait is a body of water about four hundred and fifty miles long, in width varying from fifty to two hundred miles, through which the ice drifts from the north shore of Canada pass out into the Atlantic Ocean. Through this strait all traffic to and from Nelson must pass, and, although the western end of the channel is six hundred miles from the Hudson Bay port its position as a great sea port is absolutely determined by the length of time each year navigation can be safely carried on through the strait.

That the strait is navigable, no one disputes. Who penetrated it first no one knows, but it is known that Henry Hudson, with a poor little tub of a boat and a mutinous crew, navigated it in July of 1613, and that the crew after casting their master adrift in James Bay, safely reached England that same year. In 1625, William Baffin, whose name lives in Baffins Land, penetrated the straits and was in the open water of the Bay on July 3. The Hudson Bay Company's boats have used this route for two centuries. If these early navigators in an unknown sea, with all the handicaps of little wooden sailing vessels, could safely sail these northern waters, what may not be done with charts, lights, the extension of the wireless from Nelson, a flotilla of ice-breakers and modern steel-clad and steam-driven boats? In 1915, thirty-six passages are known to have been made without mishap.

The opponents and the friends of the project must content themselves with opinions and, happily, there is much favorable opinion, all of which cannot be quoted here, which strongly supports the view that commercial navigation is possible from three and a half to five months each year. There is general agreement that the strait can be used during the months of August, September and October, vital months to the grain grower, as well as parts of July and November. The late Admiral Markham, who, with Commander Gordon in 1886 made a ninvestigation, which has never been superseded, reported: "It is almost impossible until more is known of the movements of ice in the strait, to allot any fixed period. From

the general information I have acquired from various sources, more or less trustworthy, combined with my own experience, I am prone to believe that Hudson's Strait would be found navigable for at least four months every year, and probably often for five or more months. There will, I have no doubt, be many years when navigation can be carried on safely and surely, from the first of June to the end of November." Similar testimony in very imposing amount, some of it more optimistic, some less so, is available. The Canadian ice-breakers, which have done so much to make Archangel a winter port, have helped to increase confidence in the value of the northern shipping route.

In estimating some of the advantages of the new line, consideration must be given to the fact that the west buys as well as sells, and that the payment of the heavy cost of rail haul to the stations and sidings sprinkled over the prairies, is made by the consumer. If farm products can be shipped out via Nelson and the Strait, commodities can be brought in over the same course—must, indeed, be brought in, if the project is to be a commercial success. Coal, as this past winter has shown, is an important part of the necessities of life. Mr. M. J. Butler, formerly chief engineer in the Department of Railways and Canals, stated in the report on The Hudson Bay Railway Project: "I believe it is practicable to lay down coal at Port Nelson from Nova Scotia at a cost not exceeding \$3.75 per ton. The rail haul to Saskatoon—as an average point of distribution—need not exceed \$4.00 per ton, making the cost \$7.75 per ton."

Reference should also be made to the country through which the road is being built. Is there a future for New Manitoba that would justify the construction of this line of railway apart from overseas shipping?

The lumber industry is well under way. The only mill of consequence is the million dollar plant of the Finger Lumber Company, with a daily cut of two hundred thousand feet of prime spruce lumber. The fur business supports a large army of trappers. The railway passes over the western range of what is known in geology as the great Canadian Shield, a range of mineral bearing rocks which promises to mean as



much to New Manitoba as it does to New Ontario. At the time of writing a large diamond-drilling outfit is at work on a sulphide deposit. The Honorable Edward Brown, after a personal examination of the Herb Lake gold fields, made the public statement that "enough real money will be taken out of that one district to pay the total cost of the road." The fish found in considerable quantity in the streams and lakes during the past two winters has been made the basis of an important industry. The railway has brought many fishing stations within reach of a market and the fish from these northern waters are not excelled.

Is there an agricultural future for the district tributary to the railway? In Major Chamber's book, "The Unexploited West," there are opinions of many explorers and traders, who speak of successful gardens grown many miles north of the line of railway and of the possibilities of farming. One opinion is selected. Dr. John Macdougall says of the clay area: "The soil is of clay substrata, with sandy loam on the surface, and although wooded to a considerable degree is a far more enticing agricultural proposition than that which faced the early settlers on the bush farms of Ontario and the eastern provinces fifty years ago." Mr. John Armstrong, the first chief engineer of the railway, who located the line, in his report to the Minister of Railways and Canals, wrote: "It may be remarked here, however, that although these lands require more or less improvement in the way of clearing and drainage, the fact that they are situated within a few hours' run of an ocean port may give to these lands a value not hitherto thought of and may cause a more rapid settlement than was expected." The first settler to take a car of effects went through in the fall of 1915, and a group of business men have employed an experienced rancher to select a large area of land suitable for ranching purposes.

The estimated cost of the Hudson Bay Railway, including the terminals at The Pas and Nelson, is \$26,000,000. To December, 1915, \$15,860,776 had been spent on the undertaking. With the exception of the final ballasting, two hundred and forty miles have been built and have railway service, the right-of-way is all cleared, and practically all graded, the most

difficult work at Nelson is done and the completion of the enterprise well within view. If for four months each year, during which the western crops are threshed and marketed, the transportation of the crop can be expedited by having the distance to Europe reduced by one thousand miles, no obstacles should be placed in the way of the early completion of the line. "Nothing but an actual test will ever prove which opinion about the northern route is right. The believers in the route await that test with absolute confidence."

JOHN A. CORMIE.



## THE COUNTRY ELEVATOR IN THE CANADIAN WEST.\*

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AN institution which, albeit by its sins, is responsible for the strongest force making for real democracy in present-day Canadian life, is not unworthy the attention of the student of economic history. Doubtless such questions as the tariff or railway rates or rural credits would in time have of themselves impelled the Western farmers to organize and to push as a non-partisan force into federal and provincial politics. Indeed two attempts at organisation had already been made,—the Farmers' Protective and Cooperative Union (1883-85), and the Manitoba branch of the Patrons of Industry (1878-96); but both organizations were short-lived and their only permanent work was to teach farmers the need of union and at the same time the difficulty of achieving it. The fact remains that it was the farmers' belief in the deep-dyed iniquity of the country elevator system that led to the organisation, at Indian Head on Dec. 2, 1901, of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association, the parent of the various associations and trading bodies by means of which the Western farmer is striving to work out his own social and economic salvation. The results of their first dozen years of organized effort in co-operative achievement and constructive legislation proved so fruitful that for the last three or four years, we have heard very little about the problems of the grain trade. However, congestion of transportation facilities during the past season,

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\*A "country elevator" is any elevator, situated on the right of way of a railway at any shipping point, which receives grain for storage, *before such grain has been inspected under the Manitoba Grain Act*. It is to be distinguished from (a) a terminal elevator, either at the lake front or at interior points, where Western grain receives its final inspection, the grade there given being the grade on which the grain is sold on the world's markets; (b) an Eastern transfer elevator, situated in the Eastern ports of the Great Lakes or on the Atlantic seaboard, and acting merely as part of the transportation machinery to transfer grain already graded and cleaned from boat to bin, and from bin to boat or ocean steamers; and (c) a hospital elevator, where rejected or damaged grain is cleaned, dried, or otherwise treated. In 1915 there were 2753 country elevators at 1225 stations in the West, with a storage capacity of 86,649,000 bushels, and representing a capital investment of over \$15,000,000.

differences over the type of storage ticket to be given by country elevators and over the rates to be charged for initial storage, and more recently the appointment of the present Grain Board to act as a Royal Commission to investigate and report upon all phases of the grain trade, have once more brought the subject to public attention.

The grain elevator is one of the by-products of the expansion of the wheat market from a local to a world basis. For the most part this evolution in the grain trade did not take place till the middle of the nineteenth century. About that time and chiefly as a result of the new means of transportation, the railway and steamship, and the new means of communication, the telegraph and cable, the old independent local markets began to give place to a single world market in which the consuming demand of all the nations met the supplies from all the producing areas and established an equilibrium price for the whole world. The natural result was a tremendous increase in international specialisation, the virgin lands of the West giving themselves over to specialist wheat production and compelling by their competition a painful readjustment among the agrarian classes of the Old World. The vast increase in production on this Continent resulting from the new geographical division of labor rendered obsolete the old methods of marketing and selling grain. That method of storing, transporting, and selling grain which demanded the preservation of the identity of the particular lot proved too cumbersome and expensive, and in its place was developed the method of handling by bulk, with its concomitant, selling by grade. Bulk handling was facilitated by the elevator, which took advantage of the flowing property of grain to make the force of gravity do what had formerly required a great deal of labor. This saving in labor was accompanied by an even greater economy of time; whereas it formerly required roughly a day to load a car from a wagon or from a flat warehouse without loading machinery, a car can be loaded from an elevator in fifteen minutes.

Undoubtedly this product of Yankee ingenuity is the most economical and most rapid method of handling grain that has ever been devised. These two virtues rendered the rapid spread of the elevator system inevitable in a country like Canada, where not only is labor scarce and relatively high-priced, but



where geographical, climatic, and financial conditions have hitherto rendered rapid marketing of the wheat crop absolutely essential. But though thus of real advantage to the farmer, the latter has almost always looked on the elevator company as his natural enemy. The elevator owner was only one,—perhaps the most hated one,—of a long series of middlemen who stood between him and the European consumer, and took apparently an excessive toll from his product. The conditions of international specialisation and producing for the world market had in fact evolved a gigantic and complex mechanism, consisting not only of elevators but also of railways, steamships, banks, grain dealers, commission men, exporters, etc., whose combined capital was probably vastly in excess of the capital employed in the production of the wheat. On this intricate mechanism, the Western farmer, specialising in the production of a perishable commodity which after garnering, had to be “hailed by rail a thousand miles and shipped and reshipped before it reached the market of the world, to suffer then the price-variations due to supply and demand,”\* was dependent for the sale of his crop; on its efficient and honest functioning depended his profits. At times when external conditions brought the price of wheat to a low point, he appeared to be working merely for this organisation and not for himself. The farmer who was accustomed to consider himself “the producer,” instead of merely the primary producer, was naturally in a rebellious mood when he saw so large a share of the selling price of his product going to those agents who performed the secondary steps in production and whom he was wont to regard as more or less parasitical. These later steps in production however were none the less necessary and productive, and the commercialization of the whole process of marketing was not only the cause of the farmer’s economic dependence, but the sine qua non of his ability to compete on the world’s market and hence the source of his profits. Granting this, however, one has still to ask whether the mechanism was functioning honestly and efficiently, or whether advantage was not being taken of the abundant opportunity to rob the farmer of his due reward.

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\*D. A. MacGibbon, *Journal of Pol. Economy*, March 1912, P. 229.



Western Canada was not drawn into the net of the world's market until the eighties of last century, when the coming of the railway made the grain trade for the first time a reality. True it is that the first shipment of wheat from the West was made in 1876 when 857 bushels were sacked, placed on a Red River steamer, and sent up the Red River to St. Paul, thence by rail to Toronto. A year later came the first shipment of Western wheat to England,—via the Red River and the United States. It was not, however, until 1884 that the first shipment was made by the all-Canadian route for export to England,—by rail to Port Arthur, thence by boat to Owen Sound, and thence by rail and ocean to Glasgow. The C.P.R. had been completed to Winnipeg in 1882, and though some grain was annually shipped to the Eastern flour mills, yet the volume of shipments did not become considerable till 1887. In that year nearly 4 million bushels of wheat were inspected in Winnipeg. This unprecedented crop sorely taxed the storage and handling resources of the West. Scanty capital resources had prevented the farmer from providing storage facilities on the farm. The custom so far had been to haul the grain either in sacks or loose to flat warehouses, built by grain dealers at various points along the railway line, and possessing no machinery but a weigh scale, a trolley for pulling the sacks and a grain cart. The grain was weighed, piled loose in the bins, and drawn in the cart to the car. The proprietors of these warehouses bought the grain from the farmers at prices agreed upon by the parties, shipped it by railway after accumulating a carload, and sold it on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange or otherwise. But the business was small, and rather inefficiently conducted. Further, during the annual rush to get the grain to the lake ports in time for transportation in vessels before winter set in, there was great difficulty in finding sufficient accommodation for storing the grain, which was brought in at country points more rapidly than it could be loaded and shipped out with the existing facilities.

Recognizing the difficulty and knowing the competitive advantage which the farmers of Minnesota and Dakota had secured by the use of the elevator system, the C.P.R. proceeded to encourage the building of elevators at their stations in the wheat-producing areas. Strange to say, though it had built a terminal elevator at Port Arthur in 1884, the C.P.R.

did not itself undertake to construct these elevators which, theoretically at least, would seem to be incidental to the business of transportation and quite as necessary to the quick loading and dispatch of cars as the heavy cranes used in freight sheds. This is all the more remarkable when we recall that as early as 1885 it was the publicly-announced policy\* of the C.P.R. to prevent "private interests of any description" absorbing any portion of its profits by retaining in its own hands all the services subsidiary to railroading, and that, following out this policy, the C.P.R. now, not only conducts its own sleeping car, dining car, express and parcel carrying services, but also owns and operates telegraph lines for commercial use, steamship lines, hotels, farms, ranches, mineral springs, and even soap factories. Its failure to extend this policy of integration one step further, so as to include the warehousing of grain, is probably to be explained by the difficulty of securing the necessary capital, by an unwillingness to incur the inconvenience and bother that would have been involved, and perhaps also by the current conviction that the buying and selling of grain were inextricably bound up with the storing of grain.

Whatever the reason for this failure and for the step that was actually taken, the consequences were momentous for the economic and political history of Western Canada in the succeeding twenty-five years. Rightly or wrongly shifting the responsibility from its own shoulders, the C.P.R. offered free elevator sites and other privileges to those who would erect 'standard elevators' of a capacity of at least 25,000 bushels, driven by steam or gasoline engines, and equipped with proper machinery for elevating and cleaning grain. In order further to encourage the investment of capital in such elevators, the railway guaranteed not to allow cars to be loaded with grain through flat warehouses, or direct from farmers' vehicles, or otherwise than through such elevators. When making such inducements, it imposed the condition that such elevator owners should furnish at reasonable rates storage and shipping facilities for parties wishing to store or ship grain. The result was a rapid building of elevators, which, although they

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\*See speech of the President, Sir Geo. Stephen (now Lord Mount Stephen) at a shareholder's meeting in Montreal, June 15, 1885.



competed to a certain extent among themselves, especially until combination began to develop in the late nineties, yet as a class possessed a monopoly in the storing and buying of grain. Short of an Archangel Gabriel at the wheel, evils were bound to develop.

Before discussing this evil in detail, it is necessary to go back for a moment, and consider the supervision exercised by the Government over the grain trade. Acts had been passed by the United Provinces in 1853 and 1863 providing for grain standards and the choosing of grain inspectors in certain cities. This was extended to the whole of Canada by the General Inspection Act of 1874. Later amendments in 1889 and 1891 set up a grain Standards Board for Western wheat and provided for the establishment of "commercial grades" of grain. At this time inspection did not take place till the grain reached Fort William, when, if the grading was not satisfactory to the farmer, it was beyond his control and he had no redress. Inspection, moreover, was not yet made compulsory. To remedy these defects, the Minister of Inland Revenue, who had charge of the supervision of the grain trade until it was taken over by the Department of Trade and Commerce in 1904, put through a bill creating the Inspection District of Manitoba and providing that all wheat produced in Manitoba and the North-West Territories should be inspected at Winnipeg or Emerson, that inspection should be final as between the Western farmer and the Winnipeg dealer, and that the grain grower should have the right to appeal if dissatisfied with the grade his grain received.

Aside from a few Orders-in-Council passed under authority of the Act of 1874 these four pieces of legislation represented, till the year 1900, the sole measure of the Government's concern for the interests of the grain grower who was, as we have seen, so dependent on fair and wise methods of commercial organization. Especially striking was the absence of any attempt to regulate the privately-owned, monopoly-possessing system of interior elevators which had grown up. In the face of such a laissez-faire governmental policy, we are not surprised to find that a Royal Commission was soon to report that "there being no rules laid down for the regulation of the grain trade other than those made by the railway companies and the elevator owners, we think it of great importance



that laws should be enacted and that rules should be made under power given by such laws, which will properly regulate the trade."

This Commission was appointed in 1899 in answer to a growing volume of bitter protest against the existence of the elevator monopoly and such abuses as the giving of short weights and the charging of excessive dockage. The Commission which reported in the following year found that "as a result of the refusal of the railway companies to take grain from a flat warehouse (which resulted in driving many small buyers out of the market), and of their refusal until 1898 to furnish cars to farmers desirous of doing their own shipping, and of the consequent necessity of shipping through elevators, or of selling to the operators thereof, and of lack of competition between buyers, the elevator owners have had it in their power to depress prices below what in our opinion farmers should realize for their grain. It would naturally be to their interest so to depress prices; and when buying to dock as much as possible." The shipper had only two alternatives: (1) to *sell* his grain to the elevator operator, thereby accepting his grading, weights, and dockage; and (2) to *store* his grain and ship via the elevator to a commission firm in Winnipeg. But as a matter of fact the elevator operators were almost always grain dealers, whose interest it was to buy grain rather than simply to store it. They were not compelled to guarantee grades of grain shipped through their elevators, and when separate bins could not be furnished, the grain became mixed with other grain, often dirty grain, and its identity was lost. Even when separate bins were given, there was often room for suspicion that deterioration of the grade by mixing had been effected. The charges for dockage, that is to say, the percentage taken off the total weight of a load of grain by an elevator operator to allow for the seeds and dirt which he estimated it to contain, was considered by the Commissioners to be excessive. There was also evidence that the weights given by the elevators were often open to suspicion either because of deliberate fraud or because of the infrequent inspections of the scales by the Government officials. The Commission however ascribed such malpractices as the above to individual employees rather than to any concerted attempt of the owners to practice extortion. The report went on to

say that "there were, and are, at most shipping points more than one elevator, so that a farmer could generally choose to which he would sell. The evidence, however, shows that in many cases there is little, if any, competition between elevators as to prices and that there is seldom any advance from other buyers on the offer made to a farmer by the first buyer he approaches. Of late years there have been combinations of elevator owners into large companies. This has resulted in fewer and larger elevator-owning corporations, which naturally tends to further decrease competition." Of the 447 elevators in the West in 1899, 256 were owned by three large line elevator companies, 95 by two milling companies, and only 146 by independent local millers, grain dealers, or groups of farmers.

But apart from any abuse of the power given by the elevator system, the Commission insisted that it was unfair that the farmer could not if he so desired ship directly to the terminal without passing his grain through an elevator. This meant a net expense or loss to him of three quarters of a cent (and later of one cent) to the bushel; for many shippers would prefer to give their own labour and use their own help, otherwise idle perhaps, to load the grain, thus saving the elevator rate and preserving the identity of their grain. Considering that the discontent on this point was "very serious," and that such discontent was "an inevitable result of the restrictions under which farmers have been labouring as to the marketing of their grain," the Commissioners concluded that "proper relief from the possibility of being compelled to sell under value and of being unduly docked for cleaning, is only to be had by giving the fullest obtainable freedom in the way of shipping and selling grain. It is only in such a way that the great agitation and bitterness of feeling which has arisen can be ended. So long as any farmer is hampered in, or hindered from, himself shipping to terminal markets, he will be more or less at the mercy of elevator operators."

The presentation of this report and the adoption of practically all the Commission's recommendations mark a new epoch in the development of the Western grain trade. The old era of indifference on the part of the State, and lack of cohesion among the producers gave way to a new era in which the watchwords were to be Government supervision and con-



cern, and cooperative self-help. Instead then of continuing the historical account, it may be better to outline the factors or principles that have shaped the course of development in the last sixteen years and to summarize briefly the part played by each in bringing about a gradual improvement of conditions.

In the first place, the State has stepped in to act as referee, and see that the game is played fairly. An elaborate code of rules and regulations has been built up, designed to govern each stage in the marketing process and to protect the producer from speculative or oppressive treatment at the hands of the various middlemen in the trade. The core of this legislation is the recommendations of the Grain Commission of 1899, which were in large part an adaptation to Canadian conditions of the grain laws of Minnesota and North Dakota. These recommendations were embodied in the Manitoba Grain Act of 1900. This Act was revised and amended in 1903, 1908 and 1912,—in all three cases after vigorous complaints from the farmers, and in the second case after an exhaustive investigation and report by a new Royal Commission in 1905-06. Thus amended, and with the absorption of the General Inspection Act in 1912, it is the Canada Grain Act of today. The modifications, though numerous, were not fundamental, their chief object being to make the regulations more detailed and to perfect the machinery of supervision and control. As it stands today, the Act is regarded, not unfittingly as the *Magna Carta* of the grain growers. The administration of the Act, formerly in the hands of a single Warehouse Commissioner, was in 1912 assigned to a Board of three Commissioners, who receive high salaries and hold office for ten years or during good behavior. Control is secured over the various middlemen by means of the licensing and bonding system. There are paragraphs in the act governing in the minutest detail the receiving, cleaning, weighing, grading, storing, special binning and shipping of grain; the form of purchase and storage tickets to be given to the elevators; the inspection and conditions of scales; and the keeping of books and records. These provisions, the Board has power to enforce. "The Board," in the words of its present chairman, Dr. Magill, "investigates all complaints made about handling grain, complaints about grades, weights or dockage; about prices or charges; about cars, platforms and elevators; and about fraud or oppression



by any person, firm or corporation owning or operating any elevator, warehouse, mill or railroad, or by any grain commission merchant or track buyer. For this work the board can summon witnesses, administer the oath, examine witnesses under oath, and compel the production of all books and documents relating in any way to the matter complained of. It can suspend or dismiss operators, recommend the withdrawal of licenses, institute proceedings at the expense of the Government, and its reports are *prima facie* evidence in the courts."

But the mere presence of this formidable body of supervisory or protective legislation upon the statute-books was not sufficient. Indeed the gradual perfecting of this legislation in the first decade of the century was accompanied by an ever-increasing volume of discontent and of protest at the abuses of the system which it was designed to remedy. By 1910 the farmers' leaders seemed to have lost faith in the value of such restrictive legislation and were seeking new gods to worship. It was not so much the act that was at fault. No act could be framed to prevent all the abuses that were charged against the elevator system; and even within its proper sphere, its success in protecting the farmers depended largely on whether they were acquainted with its provisions and whether they availed themselves of the weapons which it placed within their reach. Unfortunately the provisions of the Act were never as widely or as thoroughly known as they ought to have been. Education was needed to go hand in hand with legislation; and in recent years this second factor making for improved conditions has been operating through the activities of the farmers' organizations. As has already been mentioned, the parent organization, first known as the Territorial Grain Growers' Association, was organized at Indian Head in 1901 by a group of farmers who, expecting that the Act of 1900 would bring relief, and bitterly disillusioned by a continuance of the abuses and by flagrant violations of the Act, especially in the heavy crop year of 1901, had finally concluded that if any better adjustment of affairs was to be secured it would only be in response to the farmers' definite and concerted action. The success of the movement there begun is well-known. In 1902 the Manitoba grain growers organized a similar association; and in 1905 was formed the Alberta Farmers' Association

which in 1909 united with a previously-existing branch of the American Society of Equity to form the present United Farmers of Alberta. In each province the hundreds of local associations are federated in a central organization, these central organizations in 1908 effected a certain measure of cooperation by the formation of an interprovincial Council, and later still—in 1910—joined with their brethren in the Eastern provinces to form the Canadian Council of Agriculture. The work of these organizations in securing or preventing the enactment of legislation, and in developing cooperative effort along several lines has been extremely important and will be touched upon later. But their activities are essentially educational, and the results of these tactics, while less spectacular, can scarcely be overestimated. By platform, letter and press, they have spread a knowledge of the protective provisions of the grain code. More than this—by discussion, example, and the backing of an organization strong in numbers and resources, they have taught the farmer to be alert, ready to stand up for his own interests, ready to call upon the referee to enforce the rules of the game.

Only in one case, in so far as country elevators are concerned, has the State ever consented to do more than referee the game, though for a time the trend towards Government ownership and operation seemed inevitable. When the second Grain Commission held its sittings in 1905-06, the subject had not been publicly broached. Shortly after this, however, the scheme was fomented, so it is alleged, by a group of the more irresponsible and visionary leaders who had been losing faith in the efficacy of restrictive legislation and who were convinced that "a few men could manufacture public sentiment." Endorsed by the Grain Growers' conventions in 1907 and in the three succeeding years, the catch-phrase, "public ownership of country elevators," caught the imagination of West, and by 1910, perhaps 90 percent. of the grain growers worshipped the principle. Two years later, scarcely anyone remained to do it reverence. The Manitoba Grain Growers' Association was the first to move. Its executive brought the matter to the attention of the Provincial Government in 1907; but Premier Roblin succeeded in putting them off for a while and finally had the matter referred to a conference of the Grain Growers' representatives and the Premiers of the three



Western provinces. The object, ostensibly, was to secure a uniform solution of the problem. The conference met in the summer of 1909. Its only result was a state paper bearing the signatures of Premiers Roblin, Scott, and Rutherford, and rejecting the proposal for Government ownership of country elevators on financial and constitutional grounds. The financial objections were doubtless sincere, and important, though little emphasized. On the other hand, the wish to be relieved of responsibility was, clearly, father to the constitutional objections on which the stress was laid.

But the grain growers were not to be put off, and by 1910 they were an organized force to be respected. Nine years of preparation, education, and propaganda had built up an army of 25,000 members (representing 636 local units), and had developed a group of leaders, alert, fearless, familiar with tactics, little disinclined to fight. When therefore they began their combined offensive in the winter of 1909-10, the Legislatures at Ottawa and the provincial capitals were compelled to give ground. In an omnibus indictment which included the millers, the railroads, the Grain Exchange, the banks and the terminal elevators, as well as the country elevators, the Grain Growers charged up against the latter all the sins in the elevator decalogue,—giving unfair weights, charging excessive dockage, unduly depressing grades and prices, failing to clean grain, refusing to give special bins, jockeying for cars, substituting inferior grain for the farmer's superior lot, "mixing" so as to deteriorate the grades, and finally, trying to ship stored grain to their own firms even when the owner desired to ship it elsewhere. Having concluded that the possession of the storage facilities enabled the owners to prevent competition in the handling of grain, despite all legal safeguards, and that the only way to restore freedom was to divorce the warehousing of grain entirely from the business of trading in grain; they summed up their case by demanding provincial ownership of country elevators and federal ownership of terminal elevators.

The Roblin Government made haste to capitulate. With the superhuman strength born of an approaching election, they surmounted the constitutional objection which four months before had been insurmountable, announced their conversion to Government ownership, and in March, 1910, passed the



Manitoba Grain Elevator Act, providing for the buying, leasing, or construction of elevators and their operation by a board of three commissioners appointed by the Government. Existing elevators were to be bought on the basis of a fair physical valuation. The necessary funds were to be raised by the issue of forty year four per cent. debentures. The whole aim of the Act was to provide "all reasonable facilities" for the receiving, storing, forwarding and delivery of grain for farmers who wished to ship their grain to commission merchants in Winnipeg or for wholesale dealers employing street agents. In all cases samples of stored grain were to be taken and exhibited to prospective buyers.

The experiment was a wretched fiasco, and after a two years' trial was given up. Political management was largely responsible for the failure. Many of the elevators, it was alleged, were purchased through friends of the Government at exorbitant prices; some were over twenty years old and "fit for the junk heap"; some were by an unfortunate choice bought or built at points where they had to meet the competition of elevators owned by the large milling companies who were in a position to pay premiums for wheat grown in the vicinity for milling purposes. Further a fatal mistake was made in ignoring the Grain Growers' Association in the appointment of operators and methods of operation, thus failing to enlist the sympathetic cooperation of those whose patronage were essential to the success of the system. Finally the basis of operation was too narrow. The Government elevators were permitted only to elevate and store grain; not to buy and sell it, which was the main source of profit to the privately-owned companies. Because of the excessive storage capacity in the province and the existing low rates for handling, the Government could not hope to make a profit on a storing and shipping basis against the competition of the independent companies, and it was little wonder that yearly operating deficits resulted, even without allowing for interest and depreciation. A monopoly of interior storage, which the Government contemplated, would have solved one side of the problem, but the heavy initial costs would probably have meant either a higher charge for grain handling in Manitoba than elsewhere, or else recurring annual deficits, both of which results would not have been tolerated. But the experiment was never made. The Grain

Growers' Association which had opposed certain features of the Act from the beginning, especially with regard to the purchase of elevators and the appointment of the Commission, refused to accept the responsibility for the scheme or the odium of its failure. Indeed they freely charged that the whole scheme was a deliberate attempt to discredit public ownership. The test of the principle was certainly not a fair one, but it was sufficient for the Western farmer. His eyes were now turned in another direction.

Another principle which has been effective,—perhaps more effective than any other,—in securing improved conditions in the grain trade, is the principle which was laid down by the first Royal Commission on Grain Marketing, the principle of providing substitute or alternative methods, instruments, routes, or channels of trade in the hope that the monopoly element in the various stages of the marketing process might be done away with, and the tolls charged by the various middlemen kept down to a reasonable level by the resulting competition. In so far as initial storage is concerned, the provision of these alternatives to the privately-owned elevator has been effected in three ways, namely, by the natural development of the country, by permissive and mandatory legislation, and by cooperation on the part of the producers themselves.

Obviously the growth of the country, more especially the increase in transportation facilities, has worked in this direction. The completion of the railway network has added to the number of shipping stations, elevators and platforms at the disposal of the farmer. He is no longer limited to a single shipping-point or to a single elevator or to a single mode of shipment; he can pick and choose among alternatives. Excessive storage capacity has of course been another result of this development, but this is good for the grain growers, because it means keener competition between the elevators,—competition, if not in prices, at least in service, in weights, grades and dockage.

More important perhaps has been the provision of substitutes for the elevator itself. On the recommendation of the Royal Commission, the Manitoba Grain Act of 1900 included provisions requiring the railroads to furnish cars to farmers for the direct shipment of their own grain,—“no longer as a privilege but henceforth as a right”—, and to allow the estab-



lishment at shipping points, if desired by ten resident farmers, of flat warehouses in which the farmer could store his grain until he had accumulated a carload. Further as a valuable accessory to the proper shipment of grain in carload lots, the law provided for the erection at shipping points of loading platforms to be used by farmers free of charge. On the application of ten farmers living within twenty miles of any shipping point, the railroad was required to erect a suitable platform parallel to the track.

The provision for the erection of flat warehouses was designed to prevent, rather than to cure; it was thought that the ever-present possibility of such erection would keep the elevators on their good behavior. Potential, rather than actual competition, was the force upon which hope rested. As a matter of fact, very few flat warehouses have been built, and after fifteen years the number in use has decreased from 97 to 28. This was due to the increased popularity of the other independent method of shipment, the loading platform, which is now made use of by Western farmers to handle from 30 to 35 per cent. of their crop. For the large farmer who has carload lots of grain of any particular grade, this is undoubtedly the cheapest way of shipping grain. It saves elevator charges of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cents per bushel or about \$18 per car, and enables him to sell his grain in Winnipeg through a commission merchant, usually at an advance over the street buyer's price. For the farmer remote from the railroad, or the small farmer with less than carload lots, the loading platform is impracticable, and the elevator is the only resort. The farmer was given the privilege of platform loading by the Act of 1900; for the first few years, however, it was practically impossible for him to secure a car within a reasonable time after making his request. The loading platform, without some system of regulated car distribution was practically useless; and as the railroads were alleged to be discriminating in favor of the elevator owners, the farmer was in much the same position as before. It was not till the farmers had organized and carried out a vigorous campaign of agitation and protest that they secured the insertion of a clause in the revised Grain Act of 1903, which required a distribution of cars on the principle that "every shipper was to count for one and nobody for more than one." The elevator company and the individual were henceforth to be

treated equally, each being entitled to a car in turn, according to priority of application in a car-order book kept by the station agent in a form prescribed by the Act.

But the farmers have not been content to let the lapse of time or the activity of the State solve the whole problem of providing marketing alternatives for them. By the end of the century, groups of farmers at 26 different shipping points had banded together to organize local farmers' companies and erect elevators. After 1906 these farmers' elevators increased rapidly in number, and by 1910 there were 29 in Saskatchewan alone. Today there are perhaps less than half a dozen in each of the three provinces; some of these again are independent farmers' elevators only in name, as they have made arrangements with other grain or elevator firms to handle their grain for them. Some however still remain on the old basis, and in a few cases, such as the Welwyn Farmers' Elevator Co., are remarkably successful. This success can usually be explained by a strong community spirit and the presence of one or more able public-spirited Directors who give their time and energy to the work of the company. With a competent manager and possessing the confidence of the farmers on a fairly large scale, its higher average turnover and its lower overhead charges will give it an advantage in competing against the line companies. Most of the farmers' elevators, however, have found it advisable to suffer absorption in the "farmers' line companies," which will later be described. This has enabled them to avoid one of the weaknesses of the independent company,— the keen competition and in some cases, the unfair competition of the line elevator companies who could afford to cut rates at competitive points, recouping themselves at non-competitive points. But this competition was the least important cause of failure. Where unfair competition killed two, bad management killed four. This inefficiency in management took several forms.\* In some cases, insufficient capital was raised by stock subscription before the elevator was built. As a result too few farmers had a direct personal interest in the success of the undertaking, and the interest on borrowed capital cut deeply into dividends, thus causing dissatisfaction capital cut deeply into dividends, thus causing dissatisfaction

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\*Report of Sask. Elevator Commission, 1910, P. 84-5.



among the shareholders. Further an ill-conceived straining after economy in the matter of salaries and wages resulted in incompetent or dishonest managers; and this fact together with poor systems of accounting and occasionally an undue interference on the part of some of the directors or shareholders, led to distrust of the management and a consequent lack of sufficient patronage to cover expenses. On the whole however, though these locally owned and locally controlled farmers' elevators have not had the striking success which similar elevators have had in the Western States, and though in many cases they were a loss to those farmers who subscribed to their shares, yet as a class and in a high social sense, they have not been a failure. Apart from the gain to members in the prevention of inequitable treatment in the handling of their own wheat, apart also from the gain to members and to the whole farming class at their shipping points because of the preservation or intensification of competition at those points, it is difficult to exaggerate the value of the first hand knowledge of the elevator business gained by the shareholders, or of the training in cooperative methods thus acquired, or of the indications of a correct solution of the whole elevator problem which rewarded the careful student of the elements of success and failure in their experience.

This correct solution was the formation of what might be called "farmers' line elevator companies." When in 1910 the grain growers made their attack on the provincial legislatures with "Government Ownership" inscribed on their banners, the Saskatchewan Government was more astute than that of Manitoba. While accepting the principle involved, Premier Scott appointed an able commission to inquire into and report upon the best scheme for putting into operation the desires of the grain growers. After an exhaustive inquiry the Commission reported against any scheme of Government ownership, pointing out the grave disadvantages a Government system would be under in competition with the private companies because of its narrower range of operations; the grave financial risk due to the lack of any direct and personal financial responsibility on the part of the farmers; the general disposition to exact the utmost possible from the public treasury while not giving the utmost return; and the ever-present possibility of political influences tending to make

themselves felt. On the other hand they were unanimous in holding that a correct solution of the elevator problem must give the farmers full control of the system and must secure the farmer's direct personal interest and responsibility for the financial success of the elevators. Grasping the lessons to be taught by the experience of the farmers' elevator companies, they recommended a cooperative organization of the farmers on the principle of the maximum amount of local control consistent with ownership by the whole body of shareholders and management through a central board of directors. Government aid was to be given in the form of an initial loan of 85 per cent. of the cost of construction of the elevators, the loan to be repaid in twenty equal annual instalments. The remaining 15 per cent. was to be supplied immediately by the local shareholders applying for the elevator and corresponded with the paid-up portion of their subscription to its stock. Shares were to be \$50 each with not less than 15 per cent. paid-up and the number of shares sold to one person was not to exceed ten. Shares were also to be confined to agriculturists.

The Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Co. was the result of these recommendations. Its success has been phenomenal and most people agree that it has practically solved the elevator problem for Saskatchewan. Starting with 46 elevators in 1911, the company last season owned and operated a line of 230 elevators, making it the largest elevator company in the West. In 1913 it handled nearly 30 million bushels of grain, and in the smaller crop year of 1914 nearly 14 million bushels or 15.4 per cent. of the marketed crop. Since 1912 it has operated a Commission Department at Winnipeg and now sells on commission each year nearly as much grain as it receives in its elevators. From the first the company has made it a policy to pay from 1 to 3 cents above the list prices sent out by the North-West Grain Dealers' Association, and this of course means that not only its members but all farmers at all points where the company has an elevator secure advantage of this increased price. At such competitive points the independent companies must pay the increased price or else give better grades or weights to secure any patronage. Adequate provision has been made for special binning, which now represents two-thirds of the company's business. In short the company has now reached a position of such strength and influence



that it can practically control the conditions governing initial storage within its own province.

In 1913, Alberta followed the lead of her sister province and set up the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Co., organized on much the same lines as the Saskatchewan Company. Partly because of the less efficient, more speculative management, and partly because of keener competition, this company has never had the striking success of the one engineered by the Saskatchewan farmers. Especially has it had difficulty in securing adequate financial resources for operating, as distinct from construction purposes, the Government refusing to guarantee its credit for this purpose. However during the past season the company handled over 5 million bushels of grain, through its string of 85 elevators, and its total profit amounted to over \$19,000. More than two-thirds of this profit was made, however, not on grain but on the cooperative handling of live stock and farmers' supplies.

At present this company is being assisted financially by the Grain Growers' Grain Co., of which mention should now be made. This company is primarily a cooperative selling agency organized by the farmers in 1906 when the agitation against the elevator combine was at its height. The car distribution clause of the Manitoba Grain Act had been unexpectedly responsible in part at least for an increasing "spread" between track and street prices, but the farmers were apt to blame this wholly upon the existence of an elevator combine which was supposed arbitrarily to depress street prices. In their minds, proof sufficient of this charge was the formation a few years previously of the North-West Grain Dealers' Association, a trade association of elevator owners and other grain dealers formed to supply its members with gasoline and other supplies at wholesale prices, and to regulate the buying of grain in the country. Each day a uniform list of the street and track prices to be paid at country points was sent out to its members. The Grain Commission of 1905-06 found that the buyers were supposed to adhere to these list prices and that where a buyer persisted in breaking prices he was brought into line by the combined action of other buyers. They also found that some elevator companies had been pooling receipts at certain shipping points where their elevators came into competition with each other. On the other hand, on a charge of conspiracy in

restraint of trade, preferred by the Grain Growers against three members of the exchange, judgment was given in favor of the defendants.

Whatever the facts were, the farmers had become convinced that one of the main seats of their trouble was the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, on which the big line elevator companies seemed to dominate the business of buying and selling grain. The Grain Growers' Grain Co. was the result. After a few early years of trial and tribulation, due to doubtful management and trouble with the Exchange, this farmers' company has since prospered greatly and is now one of the biggest factors in the trade. Its paid-up capital is now \$867,422. Profits have increased from \$790 in 1907 to nearly a quarter of a million in 1915. In 1914 its grain receipts totalled nearly 30 million bushels, while in 1915 its export branch handled over 45 million bushels,—chiefly United States grain, however. Not only does it provide the farmer with an agency of his own to which he may consign his grain for sale, but among other activities, the Company has since 1912 operated under lease the string of elevators owned by the Manitoba Government. This phase of their business has never been very profitable, the first year especially showing a considerable deficit, due to hasty organization, intense competition resulting from the excessive storage capacity of the Province, extraordinary loss on grades of purchased grain, expensive operation of many of the elevators, and in some cases lack of loyalty on the part of the company's shareholders. It adds, however, another competitor to the market, and a competitor which will tend to give the farmer a square deal not only because of its antecedents and sympathies but also because that is the sole condition of its survival.

In dealing with all the companies which have been organized by farmers, the word "cooperative" has been used. The criticism may be made that this is not cooperation in the true sense of the word: it is not the 'Rochdale Pioneers' type of cooperation which requires the distribution of profits on the basis of business brought by the members to the company. It is certainly true that in all the above cases the companies are organized on the joint stock principle and dividends are paid on the basis of capital subscribed and paid-up. Yet it would seem that when such elevators are erected and operated by far-



mers, when the capital stock that each member may own is limited, and when the one-man-one-vote principle is the rule, much has been done toward true cooperation. Furthermore it is doubtful if this is not all that you can expect from these organizations, at least at present. All three of the farmers' line companies look forward to the cooperative principle, the payment of the 'patronage' dividend, as an ideal; but what they would seem to need most at the present time is the building up of a strong reserve fund and the increase of their capital so as to secure funds for carrying on the business and ensuring a position of undoubted strength. In all cases only a percentage of the stock subscribed has been paid up,—from 15 per cent upwards; yet the business is one which requires large working capital and as a result there is usually a great disproportion between paid-up capital and credit requirements. For instance a company with a paid-up capital of half a million may require, for operation purposes, a line of credit from the banks of nearly five million dollars. Before the company has proved itself, and because usually all its assets have already been mortgaged for construction purposes, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to secure any, or at least, sufficient credit. The Alberta Farmers' Elevator Company is a case in point. We may therefore be content to let these farmers' companies work out their financial policy along the lines they are now following. They should however be constantly on their guard against paying too much attention to dividends or against allowing the member's interest as a customer to become subordinate to his interest as an investor.

On one point, however, friends of the farmers' movement may express hope for a change; namely, a better coordination of the work of the different farmers' companies and a more logical demarcation of their respective fields. It would at least be more logical to have a single selling and export agency for the farmers' organizations of the three provinces, to have separate organizations in each province for the handling and storing of grain at interior points, and to have a still different organization (perhaps the Grain Growers' Associations) for the cooperative purchase and sale of other commodities. Of course once you had your organizations arranged on logical lines and had eliminated the overlapping and competition which exist today, a considerable measure of cooperation could be se-

cured between the different organizations. It is to be hoped that some such consummation may be effected in the early future, before vested interests, and the sense of rivalry become too strong to render it possible.

As has already been suggested, the factors above enumerated,—protective legislation, education, and the provision of marketing alternatives by the country's growth, by legislation, and by cooperative self-help on the part of the producers—have wrought a vast improvement in the methods of handling and storing grain at country points. The State has in recent years assumed its fair share of responsibility. Indeed the Western grain trade is more subject to Government regulation than any other Canadian trade, and more subject to regulation than the grain trade of any other country in the world. The question may well be asked whether this is in accordance with the genius of our modern industry. Certainly the fact does not seem to have discouraged the free flow of capital towards the trade; indeed the facilities at each stage of the marketing process seem to be excessive rather than insufficient. The new Grain Commission may well consider whether Western wheat is bearing too heavy a burden because of this excessive marketing equipment, and whether the conditions which were the cause of it could not be met at a lower social cost by changes in our financial or other machinery. A very encouraging companion fact to the one just stated is the alertness, the resourcefulness, and the cooperative business achievement of the primary producers. Government regulation has not made them less able or less willing to stand on their own feet. In no other country of the world have the grain growers done so much to solve their own problems as in our Canadian West. As a matter of fact they have now in all three provinces practically solved the problem of securing a square deal in regard to initial storage.

There is still the contest over the use by the private companies of the so-called hybrid ticket. This is simply a graded storage ticket (with the grade omitted) stamped "Subject to Inspector's Grade and Dockage." It is not included in the Grain Act, but its use was allowed under a regulation of the Grain Board. The private elevators claim that its use enables them to conduct their business more cheaply and so in the past season, they announced that they could handle grain for  $1\frac{1}{4}$  cents instead of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cents prescribed as the maximum by



the Board. The farmers' companies have protested against its use claiming, in brief, that it enables the elevator to give the minimum of service and the producer to receive the minimum of protection. They also claim that the lowering of the handling charges to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  cents is merely the great "frontal attack" upon them of the big elevator companies who formerly had contented themselves with "guerilla warfare," arranging "little deals" with the farmers at competitive points at the cost of the farmers in the newer non-competitive points. The Saskatchewan Cooperative has steadily refused to lower its storage charges below  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cents on the ground that the service given costs more than this amount. Their books show that in 1913-14 the cost of handling wheat through their elevators averaged over  $2\frac{1}{4}$  cents per bushel and that their profits arose solely out of the 1 cent commission charged for selling grain on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. It would certainly seem that each service should pay for its own cost. This is another of the problems which the new Commission will have to investigate and solve.

It is however not probable that the Commission's report will lead to any fundamental change in the organization and operation of the country elevator system. The general lines along which the ultimate solution will come can already be clearly seen. It will simmer down to a keen competition between farmers' line companies, millers' elevators, and ordinary line companies. A very few independent local companies may possibly remain because of excellent management and established connections. The ordinary line elevator companies, at least the larger and more responsible, are now no doubt honestly conducted, and certainly with great efficiency; their efficiency may be trusted to keep the farmers' companies up to the mark in the giving of service. The presence of the farmers' companies will not only compeel the ordinary companies to give the farmer a square deal but will bring part of the profits of the business to the farming community. The milling companies again will serve by the payment of premiums to keep prices somewhere near the limit of the milling value of the grain. Over all will be the Canada Grain Commission, performing its supervisory and judicial work as at present, perhaps going further in regulating the rates not only for storing and handling, but also for selling grain on commission.

W. C. CLARK.

## SOME MODERN CONCEPTIONS OF SPONTANEOUS GENERATION.

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A desire to know how life originates has been characteristic of the minds of all ages. According to Anaximander the first principle is "the boundless." It is neither water nor other substance yet recognized but some other natural body which is limitless and from it all the universe has arisen. Living things he, however, more concretely states to have sprung from the moist elements evaporated by the sun. This like Aristotle's remarkable paradox that dry bodies when they became wet and moist bodies when they became dry produced living forms is probably sounder philosophy than the fantastic ideas of spontaneous generation which undoubtedly developed from these in the sixteenth century.

The directions of the physicist Helmont for the generation of scorpions is illustrative of this period. "Scoop out a hole in a brick. Put into it some sweet basil, crushed. Lay a second brick on the first so that the hole may be perfectly covered. Expose the two bricks to the sun and at the end of a few days the smell of the sweet basil, acting as a ferment, will change the herb into real scorpions."

So firmly was his conception held that another investigator in the seventeenth century commenting on the ideas of an opponent considers that to question spontaneous generation is to question reason and experience. "If he doubts this let him go to Egypt, and there he will find the fields swarming with mice begot of the mud of Nylus, to the great calamity of the inhabitants."

Such grotesque conceptions were destroyed by the discovery of the Italian physician, Redi, that larvae are not engendered spontaneously in decomposing meat. This he demonstrated by the simple method of placing meat in a wide mouthed jar which was covered by gauze. Flies attracted by the odor of the meat deposited their eggs on the gauze where the larvae hatched. Thus the eggs were shown to be the source of the maggots. This and subsequent investigations along the same line utterly disproved the early theories of a spontaneous generation of life.



With the advent of the microscope, toward the end of the seventeenth century, the spontaneous generation theory was rehabilitated in new form. Every one fortunate enough to have the use of a microscope found new evidence for the theory. It was an easy matter to examine a sample of rain water, for example, leave it in a warm place for a few days and again examine it, when it would be found swarming with various organisms. Since such samples contained no organism at the start and neither organisms or spores were added it was naturally concluded that the living forms arose from the elements of the infusion. Voltaire's sarcasm describes an English investigator who studied generation in meat infusions as one who "engendered eels in the gravy of boiled mutton."

In spite of experimental evidences to the contrary, as well as satire, belief in the spontaneous generation of the various micro-organisms was held more or less firmly until the superb experiments of Pasteur fifty years ago completely banished the conception.

Pasteur proved that organisms which arose in infusions developed from spores as Redi had shown fly larvae to develop from eggs. More conclusively he demonstrated that organisms which arose in preparations previously subjected to a boiling temperature and hermetically sealed possessed spores capable of resisting such a temperature; but after a series of boilings interspaced by periods of incubation which sufficed to effect the development of all spores to a non resistant condition and their final destruction by boiling, the solutions remained perfectly sterile.

Although Pasteur proved conclusively that life did not arise under a particular group of conditions this by no means disposes of the question of spontaneous generation. The effects of his discoveries have, however, been practically this, and for fifty years the problem has been almost banished from the research laboratory.

If life did not arise spontaneously on the earth it may be conceived according to the suggestions made at various times, as having reached our planet from some other. Arrhenius has dressed this theory in modern form by proceeding from the known facts of bacteriology particularly that the minutest germs of life, many of them ultra-microscopic in size, float

about in the air. These spores floating to the upper strata of the atmosphere come under the influence of the pressure of light which he suggests may propel them through space. If an hour glass filled with metal particles, exceedingly fine spores and rarified air is exposed to a powerful beam of light as the particles run through, the metal of course falls perpendicularly but the spores fall in a pile slightly off from the perpendicular in the direction away from the source of light. Arrhenius calculates that if living germs were carried by such radiant forms of energy the time of transit from the earth to Mars would be twenty days, and from our solar system to the nearest stellar system about nine thousand years.

Professor Schafet in his presidential address to the British Association in 1912 criticises not only the results of this suggestion but more particularly the attitude assumed toward the problem, a criticism which applies equally to the complacency which has followed a problem esteemed to have been settled. "But the acceptance of such theories of the arrival of life on the earth does not bring us any nearer to a conception of its mode of origin; on the contrary, it merely serves to banish the investigation of the question to some conveniently inaccessible corner of the universe, and leaves us in the unsatisfactory position of not only affirming that we have no knowledge as to the mode of origin of life—which is unfortunately true but that we never can acquire such knowledge which it is to be hoped is not true. Knowing what we know and believing what we believe, as to the part played by evolution in the development of terrestrial matter, we are, I think, (without denying the possibility of the existence of life in other parts of the universe), justified in regarding these cosmic theories as inherently improbable—at least in comparison with the solution of the problem which the evolutionary hypothesis offers."

With our present knowledge of molecular physics and the chemistry of protoplasm the only conceivable idea of spontaneous generation is a happy combination of matter and energy resulting in the formation of a compound sufficiently complex to carry out the varied activities of the living organism. It is a significant fact that all organisms, in the present stage of evolution, obtain their supply of complex organic compounds, both for their structural constituents and energy producing



substances directly or indirectly from one source, namely, the synthetic mechanism of green plants.

The progress of this essential synthesis is dependent upon the presence of an energy transformer, the pigment substance chlorophyll which is a characteristic of green plant tissue. When these tissues are supplied with the simple substance carbon dioxide, a constant constituent of the atmosphere, and water, and illuminated; the elements of the two substances together with a portion of the energy of the light combine to form complex carbon compounds, while the chlorophyll although essential to the reaction is itself not used up but acts as an intermediary between the reacting substances. These parts of the plant which may have lost their chlorophyll, for example through complete shading for some days, or those parts which are not green possess no power of building up energy from inorganic sources. Such colorless parts depend upon the green tissue for their supply of organic substances alike in growth and the production of energy. The bodies of green plants in turn are utilized by the colorless bacteria, moulds and mushrooms and, more conspicuously, by animals.

The distinctive feature of this synthetic reaction of green plants is the incorporation of energy in the new compound. Indeed our common-place that all energy comes from the sun might well include the further statement that that this radiant energy becomes available through the photosynthesis of green plants. For, with the exception of certain sources such as winds, tides and waterfalls, the energy of life as well as of the industries comes from past or present sources of this nature.

In the non-living we usually look at the utilization of this stored energy as a simple process. When wood, coal or other product of green plants is raised to a sufficient temperature, in the presence of oxygen or subjected to the action of certain chemical agents it burns or oxidises in which process oxygen combines with the substance undergoing reaction so that the energy of the sun incorporated by photosynthesis is liberated as heat or light and the matter itself reduced to simple compounds.

Vital force, in the terminology of an older biology, results from a similar oxidation process; yet in the living organism various energy containing compounds are normally oxidised

without the interaction of high temperature or strong chemical agents. This discrepancy between the oxidations in the living body and those which are carried on outside manifests itself also in other chemical reactions such as digestion processes, characteristic of both plants and animals, which were first found to occur outside the living body rapidly only under conditions incompatible with life. The discrepancy, however, was largely done away with by the discovery that the same acceleration of chemical reactions which is brought about by high temperature can also be accomplished at a low temperature by certain specific substances, the so-called catalyzers. The specific substances which accelerate the oxidations at body temperature, sufficient to allow the liberation of the stored energy for the propagation of the varied activities of the living organism, are the ferments of oxidation. Although recent research has shown that these ferments may be extracted from the living cell and made to accelerate oxidation processes under laboratory conditions, and that several purely inorganic substances are capable of effecting similar reactions, the fact remains that the bodies normally actuating these reactions are products if not parts of the protoplasm.

The protoplasm, like the energy of the organism, is developed directly or indirectly from the products of the photosynthesis of green plants. Although much of the structure of protoplasm is unknown to us at present we are at least familiar with the general course of its development. The chemical compounds resulting from photosynthesis, carbohydrates, as sugars, starches, celluloses and like compounds are compounds of carbon hydrogen and oxygen. As a result of the wonderful property of carbon, molecules are produced far larger than occur with compounds of any other element. But more significant than the mere size of the molecule is the almost infinite possibility of variation and the formation of substitution products by the replacing of one or more atoms of the molecule by new elements.

The building up of the protoplasm is a series of such substitution reactions resulting in the formation of compounds of increasing complexity. A most important and probably primary stage is the addition of nitrogen. In the green plant the simple nitrogen compounds taken up by the roots are combined with the carbohydrates to form the most complex of



chemical substances the proteins, some of the simpler of which have been prepared under laboratory conditions so that we are familiar with them. These proteins like the carbohydrates are transferred to various parts of the plant or taken by animals, simplified by digestion and again complicated in assimilation.

In the construction of protoplasm due to the unstable affinity of the constituent proteins great aggregate molecules, as they are sometimes called, are produced. Many, perhaps hundreds of protein molecules associate, without any true atomic union, to form an organic colloid. The most noteworthy characteristic of this colloid is its instability. Its strength for the purpose of the vital reactions lies in its weakness as a chemical body for its existence in a state of most delicate balance permits it to respond to every variation in the environment.

The development of these protein bodies as well as the subsequent colloid complexes is due, like the production of energy in the organism, to the action of specific ferment bodies. Inorganic catalyzers have been shown capable of effecting many of these reactions, yet in the normal reactions these bodies are colloidal and complex in their nature.

From this brief analysis it is apparent that the synthetic reactions of green plants is the one place where energy and inorganic bodies unite in the development of energy for the life activities and the first great step in the production of living structures. This seems then to be the fundamental reaction from the inorganic to the living upon which all organisms depend at present.

As already indicated, however, this reaction proceeds only in the presence of the energy transformer chlorophyll upon which it is dependent. Although the chemical constitution of this chlorophyll is now understood it is far too complex a body to be conceived of as arising in the first stage from inorganic matter in the absence of life, yet as the present intermediary in the building of life substances it affords at least a clue to the nature of the bridge which spans the gap from the inorganic to the living.

If, indeed, the first living substance had its origin in such a synthesis of energy the first transformer in a world which had no life must have been inorganic and it is at least of inter-

est that more than one such transformer has been found. One investigator has found that carbon dioxide and water exposed to sun light in the presence of salts of the inorganic element uranium develops formaldehyde which is recognized as one of the first products of normal photosynthesis in green plants.

Avoidance of technicalities has prohibited anything approaching a full development of these ideas, yet this outline may serve to indicate the conception now held by many biologists; that through an infinitely long series of changes, first influenced by inorganic energy absorbers and catalytic agents and, subsequently, as more complicated bodies developed by colloidal and specific ferment substances, life may have arisen or still is arising from the inorganic.

It may be contended that such are speculations beyond the prerogative of the experimental scientist. It is indeed true that up to the present there is no direct evidence of such happenings: no process of transition from the inorganic has been directly observed. But on the other hand it is equally true that the kind of evidence which would be of any real value in determining this question has scarcely been looked for. We may be certain that if life is being produced from the non-living substance it would be life of a far simpler character than any which has yet been observed—in material which we should be uncertain whether to call animate or inanimate. The inorganic materials are of a certainty continually undergoing transition. New chemical combinations are constantly being formed and old ones broken down; new elements are making their appearance and old elements disappearing. Likewise among organisms from the simplest to the most complex variation is constant, examples of evolution and regression are obvious. We may well ask why the production of living matter alone should be subject to other laws than those which have produced and are producing various forms of non-living as well as living matter.

GUILFORD B. REED.



## DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY IN THE MODERN STATE.

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THERE was a time when England produced theories of the State of world-wide currency and influence, for the reason that she was then actively engaged in laying the foundations of the modern State and far in the front. A few hesitant and much qualified sentences in Grotius about the rights of free men could have little effect on the actual condition of things, but the writings of Hooker, Hobbes and Locke reflect a great practical conflict over the question of government and mark from their different points of view a real change in the condition and ideas of a people. Locke's moderate but clear development of the old idea of the social contract, following on the revolution of 1688, gave a decisive shock to the old Catholic idea of the monarch as the vice-gerent of God and to the feudal sentiment of loyalty. That the king was the sovereign source of all power had become in England only a juristic point of view. But that the reverence for hereditary kingship and the historic character of the constitution was still strong is reflected in Locke's cautious and conservative treatment of the subject. While he recognizes a "supreme power" in the people of establishing the form of legislature it wished, he declares it sacred and unalterable once it is established. Yet they may remove or alter it, he adds, if the end for which it was established is manifestly neglected. Only this power of the people can never come into operation till government is dissolved. All these rather illogical qualifications show Locke's embarrassment; he had to justify revolution and at the same time set up barriers against revolutions in general. But it was not simply that; the real difficulty of his task was that he sought to reconcile a general theory of the sovereignty of the people with stability in the constitution. He strengthens the position of the king by recognizing him as a "perpetual executive" with special prerogatives and inviolable as long as he acts constitutionally. His essay is not a philosophic synthesis of the elements in the State but it contains an appeal to the common sense of the time which made it an adequate justification of existing conditions, and the

most philosophic *Staatsrechtfertigung* of German jurists to-day cannot do more. Both have the same difficulties to overcome and the modern German conception of the monarch as the Bearer of State-power by special unchallengeable right is little more than Locke's "perpetual executive" in a more scientific terminology.

*Rousseau's Doctrine of the State.*

But these English revolutions and theories had not at first much influence on Continental opinion. The English were still regarded as a turbulent and heretical people and their civil wars and dissensions presented by Bossuets and Saumaises as a horrifying example to nations. It was not till the 18th century when the leaders of the Enlightenment in France had drawn attention to the progress the English had made in civil government that the influence of English institutions began to be felt in the formation of European opinion. Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau were all of the opinion that the English constitution came nearest realizing the ideal of liberty. Montesquieu generalized and extended Locke's view of the separation of the legislative and executive functions of the State and Rousseau developed the English thinker's view of the social contract into a complete and uncompromising doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. In Rousseau's theory of the contract every man gives up his individual rights to society but only in such a way that he remains a participant in the sovereign power thus created. There can be no peculiar and indefeasible rights or privileges for any one, for there can be no permanent alienation of the individual's freedom in favour of any one. *La condition est égale pour tous. . . . Renoncer à sa liberté, c'est renoncer à sa qualité d'homme, aux droits de la humanité.* From this it followed that there could be no inviolable or hereditary right which the sovereign people could not withdraw, nor any fundamental law which was unalterable—"not even the social contract itself." Rousseau disposes easily of the dangers of instability in such an association. No guarantees, he argues, are needed against the misuse of this power. "The people as sovereign can have no interest contrary to the people as subject . . . it can never wish to injure its members."



The defects of Rousseau's abstract logic have been the theme of nearly every jurist since his day. His theory of the State is not of course a historical explanation of its origin but it is also philosophically weak as a justification of its existence. There can be no free condition of man previous to society with rights to surrender which are rationally or morally superior to those of society even under worst forms of despotism. Such a previous 'state of nature' would be under the reign of mere force and brute passion even were these more limited by the milder instincts and sensitivities of man, or some very undeveloped sense of right, than they are in the ape and the tiger. It is evident also that Rousseau's theory gives no binding force to the State which as an association formed by mere consent may be dissolved on the same principle and ought logically to be in dissolution when a majority forces its will upon a minority. These logical arguments, however, are mainly of value because they point to the fact that Rousseau's theory tended to ignore the subtler elements on which the strength and solidity of the State rests and did not give it the sanction of any higher end than the convenience of individuals. It leaves the unity of the State, the truly national existence, (Rousseau's *volonté générale*) to collect, form and express itself out of a variety of interests in a vague and inadequate way by the unassisted organ of a majority opinion. And, as Rousseau himself saw, the larger the State is and the greater the variety of its interests, the greater will be the number of those whose "consent" has made them mere "subjects" and may be legitimately withdrawn from the State. Then they may legitimately or logically preach rebellion, or murder and poisoning, if they like, as I have heard a Labour Union Leader (of the I.W.W.) do openly in New York.

One clear inference from this point of view was that it would be well to restrict the action of the State as much as possible and in this way at least leave all practicable freedom for the individual, especially in matters of conscience. And this, which became a fundamental principle of later Liberalism, helped to obscure still further the idea of a higher end or function in the State.

But with all its defects, real and logical, Rousseau's *Social Contract* marks a great step in the political progress of Europe.

It gave a powerful expression to the idea that the State should be a rational product founded on the free will of its citizens and in a way that made it susceptible of continual improvement by the same free will. What it meant to the world of that time was emancipation from a royal and ecclesiastical authority which was now felt to be oppressive and irrational in its claims. It made a strong appeal also to the growing humanitarian sentiment of the age. Many of Rousseau's doctrines, whether juristically sound or not, have this imprint of humanitarian motive. He excites ire in the juristic mind of Pollok when he says "war is not a relation between man and man but between State and State," but it is the principle upon which he proceeds to base his arguments for humanitarian limitations in the conduct of war. His book was the chief inspiration of the French Revolution and his main theories were embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man issued by the French National Assembly in 1789, "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. . . . These rights are natural and imprescriptible . . . the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. . . . Law is the expression of the general will."

The French Revolution may be fairly considered as having demonstrated the weak side of Rousseau's ideal which gave no place to the restraints of established law and usage and left the State at the mercy of the popular impulses and judgment of the day. The internal disorders of revolutionary France and its ruthless violation of its democratic and humanitarian ideals in the treatment of other nations have been fully exposed by Taine and Sorel. Yet as long as its ideals remained those of popular and republican liberty the French Revolution does not seem to have roused the spirit of the continental nations against it. The sense of nationality was weak in the populations of despotic and ill-governed States in Germany, Italy and Austria and yielded readily to the French Republicans' cry of the rights and liberties of the people. The sovereigns hardly dared to summon the people to arms. They were almost as much afraid of their own subjects, Mallet du Pan remarks in 1794, as of their enemies. England, as a country of free parliamentary institutions, was something of an exception. But when the internal disorder of the Republic had ended logically



in the autocratic rule of Napoleon, his ruthless exactions and the menace of a universal monarchy at length awoke the national spirit of the peoples to resistance. "Universal monarchy" was the phrase in use then to describe Napoleon's ambitions. It does not differ much from what the Kaiser and Bethman-Hollweg mean when they speak of "securing Germany's future."

The real fight over democratic principles only began when the tumult of Napoleonic movements had ceased. For a time the so-called Holy Alliance drew a creditable support from this menace of a French universal domination; in 1830 the thoughtful mind of the historian Niebuhr was still haunted by it, as you see in the preface to the Third Part of his Roman history. The Alliance also drew a more legitimate support from the conviction of the inadequacy and danger of the ideas which Rousseau and the revolutionaries had set afloat on the organization of society, but when Metternich sought to organize this sympathetic alliance at the convention of Troppau in 1820 into a confederation for the suppression of all "revolutionary" movements and opinion throughout Europe, his policy excited doubts even in conservative circles. Castlereagh, the much vituperated of Byron and the radicals, demurred on the part of England and Canning shortly afterwards formally withdrew from the combination.

#### *Democracy in Britain.*

Great Britain in fact had begun to move on quite contrary lines to those represented by the Holy Alliance. She had begun to work out in Parliamentary procedure what was practicable in Rousseau's doctrine of the sovereign people and the Declaration of the Rights of Man. At the outbreak of the Revolution the government of Britain was a historic constitutionalism which distributed the power of the State between the King, Lords and Commons according to a system of balances and checks. The king was still a real power in legislation. He could dismiss a ministry he did not like, he could even maintain a ministry in power and credit against a Parliamentary majority. The ministers, though always subject to impeachment, and though the doctrine of their responsibility to the people had been clearly developed (see, for example, Bolingbroke's

*State of Parties*) could for a time at least act as if they were mainly responsible to the king alone. But the power which the Commons possessed in their full control of the finances and still more their power of appeal to the tribunal of public opinion gradually led through a long series of Parliamentary conflicts and popular agitations to changes in procedure and practice which converted the old historic constitutionalism into a democratic state based on a popular franchise, with its centre of gravity in the House of Commons and a ministry exclusively dependent on the majority there. The change was coincident with a period of great industrial development and prosperity during which the mercantile and professional classes had risen into power and consequence. They had had the help of the great Whig Lords, however, in achieving their victories and this had done much to soften the collision of classes during the struggle. The process was completed a few years ago by the limitation of the power of the House of Lords to a suspensory veto. This practically removes the last absolute check on the power of the people to alter the constitution and to legislate through its representatives as it pleases with respect to property and persons. In this particular respect it is almost the fulfilment of Rousseau's ideal, there is not even the barrier of a fundamental law to stand in the way of the people's will as expressed by a majority in the House of Commons. It may be that the innate conservatism and the practical sense of the British people need no greater safeguards.

In France the popular Parliamentary system had worked at first with less success. After thirty years of political unrest and three revolutions it disappeared for a time in the Imperial system of Napoleon III. Even in our own time it has worked with great uncertainty and with a tendency to frequent change and instability of ministries which perhaps indicates that it was after all originally a system of Anglo-Saxon origin and best fitted therefore for the Anglo-Saxon temperament. In political achievement France is still the country of ideals, the flame of light and intelligence, rather than a leader in positive and practical construction.

In Great Britain then democratic government made great progress within lines which may be said to have been laid down for it by English Liberalism. It gave the people almost un-



limited control through their representatives and by the Thirties had begun a process of extending and equalizing the franchise which was to end in making all of them sharers in what Rousseau called the sovereignty of the people. Considerable changes in the social and economic sphere might have been expected to follow this process, and so they did, but only slowly and in moderate measure, for English Liberalism carried within it several principles of restraint. It was in the main a product of the great British middle class, of wealthy merchants and manufacturers whose energy had developed the industrial and commercial life of Great Britain with little or no help from the Government except what was involved in the military protection of the interests they created. It was accustomed to trust to its own resources and enterprise which for various reasons were then much superior to those of other nations. It had a well-founded distrust of Governmental interference with economic interests for that had generally been of a dilettante or arbitrary character. It did not tend towards any philosophic or religious conception of the State, but regarded it only as an institution designed to protect person and property and maintain decency and order. Religion, education (in both of which its interests were highly sectarian) the moral training of the individual and all that sort of thing it was convinced that government had nothing to do with. Thus it came about that it was the free-thinking school of Bentham and Mill, whose individualistic and utilitarian principles were derived from the French Enlightenment, that became the interpreters to the world of this highly religious middle-class and its Liberalism. A philosophic inconsistency perhaps; but there were potent links between them. Both accepted utilitarian standards and measures for the action of the State. Many who rejected utilitarianism as a theory of life were its devotees in practical politics. It was the corollary of their view of the State power as restricted to the preservation of the comfort and security of its citizens. And both made exceptions in favour of humanitarian principles, for both were eminently humanitarian and have a long list of "emancipations," negro, Jewish, Catholic and other, to their credit. There was much that was congenial to the English spirit in general and also well suited to the condition of

the British Empire at that time in the restrictions which the old Liberalism imposed on State action. It allowed freedom of development to the many diverse elements in that widespread new form of State, not yet properly classified nor perhaps classifiable by scientific jurisprudence. But it left a good many problems for the statesmen of to-day who have the perhaps heavier task of harmonizing the freedom and the unity of these diverse elements. It was only slowly that Liberalism was forced out of its individualistic doctrines into protective legislation for the weaker and the working classes. That was the influence of the new Radicalism with the workingman's vote behind it. The criticism of Carlyle, too, shook its very foundations. But on all such questions the humanitarian sentiment of Liberalism also helped to undermine its doctrines. How far it may advance in other directions is still doubtful. But the signs are everywhere. Education, in a limited and practical sense at least, now receives a good deal of attention from the State. In trade, international agreements have long been common, often under cover of the Free-Trade principle; preferential tariffs can come under the head of the claims of the Empire; in the colonies the necessity of aiding in the development of a new country has always forced a large amount of State action on the government, and of late the British government has been driven into direct co-operation with the business activities of the country. But all that is still a casual procedure and some way off from any clear or scientific conception of the duties of the State, especially in respect of cultural or moral ends. In Canada and the United States there is a diversity, even an opposition of racial traditions which makes national unity difficult; in Canada it may be partly overcome or mediated at least by the idea of unity in the Empire, but in the United States it may have to be sought in some form of State action which secures the strictest homogeneity in education. That is the way which Germany takes, where she thinks she can take it, as in the Danish part of Schleswig and the Polish provinces.\* It would be an ironical fate for the German-American's Germanism to be extinguished on proper German principles.

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\*See extract from Nyström in Appendix to this article.



*Political Development in Germany.*

The history of political development in Germany is not so clear and continuous as it is in England. With the decay of the old Empire, Germany became a loose aggregation of States under despotic and often irresponsible government. Menzel, a type of old-fashioned Liberalizing historian long obsolete in Germany, tells us a Duke of Weimar in the earlier part of the eighteenth century issued a proclamation to his subjects prohibiting them "reasoning," speculatively of course, under pain of correction, and you could fill a book with similar paternal eccentricities on the part of the rulers of the smaller German States. Some dramas of Schiller and Lessing still convey to us a faint reflection of the character of the German courts in their time. But a good prince in these small States might be like a father to his subjects ready to discern and foster real talent of all kinds. And good or bad he was likely to be a stricter and better judge than a democracy of real knowledge and ability in his officials. You need only read Goethe's autobiography with its accounts of museum directors, educational heads and the like to see the well-trained kind of official it might breed. Not a little of Germany's efficiency and scholarship has its origin there. Democracies are feeble in this respect and able to judge only by external criteria of position and reputation which are often empty enough.

Germany's political development has also been strongly affected by the exigencies of a situation which for long made foreign policy a dominating factor in its government. When the struggle with Napoleon was over, it soon became apparent that though he had been beaten and the Bourbons restored to the throne of France, the Revolution was still alive and indeed only now beginning its true life. There was great political fermentation in Germany, reformers of all shades, Liberals, Radicals and Republicans, uniting in the cry for constitutional liberty. The most popular poets and writers were mostly fiercely radical. It was the day of Freiligrath, Herwegh and Heine in Germany, as it had been a little earlier the day of Shelley and Byron in England. The universities were nests of treason in the eyes of Metternich and government circles. Most of the German governments themselves were undecided

and vacillating in opinion during this period. Constitutions more or less liberal were granted, modified, withdrawn and granted again according to the varying pressure of reactionary or revolutionary forces. The situation was also complicated by the question of the unification of Germany. As an ideal it was more or less acceptable to all parties, but as the Republicans and Radicals sought to achieve it by the extinction of the dynasties and even the Liberals were inclined to suppress most of them, the dynasties had their difficulties over the movement and manoeuvred instead for a revival of the old Bund or federation in various forms. Particularism, too, as the Germans call it, was still strong amongst the German States.

It was on Prussia, as all came eventually to see, that the solution depended. In the Forties good judges like the Prince Consort in England and the Duke of Coburg-Gotha, were already of opinion, as you see from the latter's memoirs, that a federation under her leadership was the best thing for Germany and the only salvation of the smaller dynasties. Prussia, though its government had long been a byword for autocratic discipline and military rigour, was yet the most enlightened and best ruled State in Germany. It had the faculty of attracting to it the ability and talent of other States around it, a sure symptom of vigour and vitality. Neither Stein nor Hardenberg, nor Niebuhr, nor Scharnhorst, nor Gneisenau, nor Blücher were its born subjects, nor later Mommsen, Moltke and Hegel. Berlin too had been the intellectual seat of the *Aufklärung* or Enlightenment in Germany, though the Weimar circle was inclined to poke fun at its *Nikolais* and *Mendelssohns*. And the great Berlin university had recently made a brilliant start with Humboldt, Schleiermacher, Fichte and other leaders of thought on its staff. There were strong liberalizing forces in all that. Even the solid bureaucratic and professional circles in Berlin had mingled "old Prussian" traditions with strong constitutional and progressive sympathies, as you may see in the political history of the time or memoirs and sketches like those of Fontane which give a more intimate and psychological picture of opinion. In the eastern provinces of Prussia with the Polish and Jewish elements in their population, there was a strong demand for reform, and even a loud-voiced Radicalism. And all around in the south and west of



Germany where French influences had long been felt, there was a rather tumultuous movement, Liberalizing professors and jurists, radical journalists and reckless popular agitators all joining in a common effort up to a certain point and then breaking apart when it came to the question of a Liberal or a Radical, or a Republican form of constitution. But the central strength of the Prussian monarchy did not lie in the Eastern provinces or in industrial centres of Westphalia and the Rhine, it lay in the old home provinces of Brandenburg and Pommern where the hard faced farmers of the mark and a stiff but resolute and practical class of gentry or Junkerdom still preserved the traditions of the great Frederick and were firm supporters of the old Prussian monarchy. The conflict which decided what the political development of Germany was to be seemed for a long time to have no more significance than that of an obstinate resistance on the part of the "old Prussian" party with its antiquated traditions to constitutional reforms. And it was a typical Junker of the Old Mark, Otto von Bismarck, that led the party to victory.

*The Conflict over the Prussian Constitution.*

The position of the old Prussian party did not seem to be a very strong one from the legal or constitutional point of view. It seemed to be seriously compromised by the fact that in 1815 Frederick William III of Prussia had promised his subjects a liberal constitution as a reward—though Bismarck would never admit this—for the resolute patriotism they had shown in the last fierce struggle with Napoleon. But the reactionary influences of Austria and Russia and the confused situation in Germany enabled the Government to stave the matter off for a long time. In 1847 Frederick William IV was at length brought to create a kind of advisory assembly (the United Provincial Diets) with very limited powers. At the same time he declared that "no power on earth shall succeed in inducing me to change the natural relation between Prince and people into a conventional constitution." There was deep disappointment even amongst a section of the Prussian nobility which was inclined to think the struggle against reform hopeless and unwise. But in 1848 France once more gave the signal for revolution by expelling Louis-Philippe and setting

up a republic. In a moment, such was the state of things then, all the thrones of central Europe seemed to be toppling and in March a street insurrection in Berlin forced the Prussian king to grant a constitution and put himself at the head of the movement for German unity. But there was the usual confusion accompanying popular movements in Germany, the time for action was spent in theoretic discussions, the enthusiasm and force of the movement ebbed away and by November when General Wrangel arrived with loyal Prussian regiments in Berlin the Government was once more easily the master of the situation.

The constitution the king had granted was liberal enough in its general form, but it had been made subject to "revision" by a Parliament to be elected for that purpose, and it was so incomplete and full of ambiguities in its terms that its character really depended on the interpretation succeeding Parliaments and governments might give it. For example, it declared that the ministers of the crown were "responsible" but did not define the nature or extent of that responsibility or whether it was to the king or to the Parliament. It made no provision for what was to take place when Parliament refused to vote the Budget. It did not do away with previously existing rights and privileges in general but only so far as they might be replaced by its specific provisions, and its omissions left plenty of room for the creation of institutions which might even give the king powers which he had not previously possessed. It was over the revision and interpretation of this constitution that the real and decisive conflict between the monarchical and the democratic ideal of the State took place in Prussia and the result decided eventually the political character and development of all Germany. Everyone now knows more or less about the history of that conflict. In spite of able and eloquent opposition from Liberal orators in Parliament, and journalism outside of it, the constitution was interpreted and developed in a sense quite opposed to democratic principles, and the special powers of the monarch were reaffirmed and even extended so that his power might be largely independent of the will of the people. The command of the army, the *Kommandogewalt*, as it was understood in Prussia, put very great power in his hands for it reached everywhere in a



nation where every man almost was a soldier. It was a favorite means, for example, of coercing the Polish provinces. And to this power was now added the control of a great bureaucracy, including the judges, who were made dependent on the government and really ruled by a private system of promotion and discipline. The interpretation of ministerial responsibility made the ministers independent of Parliament and practically cut away the very ground on which democratic development might be possible. The control of the Lower House over Taxation and the Budget was imperfectly developed and left obscure in the event of a conflict. The long history of English Parliamentary struggles had not been thrown away on Frederick William and his counsellors. They learned from it how to guard carefully the points at which the Parliament had made its invasions on the power of the king. The defects in the constitution, as we may call them from the democratic point of view, helped Bismarck to win the final triumph in 1866 and the vote of indemnity which he then received and the general acceptance of his policy meant that the nation was surrendering to his ideas of kingship and Parliaments. The fundamental principles of the Prussian system were taken over into the constitution of the Empire in 1870 with suitable changes and adjustments. Formally the Kaiser is only overlord in the Empire, but his power as King of Prussia in the Bundesrat and as commander of the army, navy and other departments is under no popular control. And the Bundesrat itself is an even more formidable fortress for the monarchical principle than the Prussian *Herrenhaus*.

This imposing revival of the monarchical power in an age when it was a commonplace of Irish and American oratory to proclaim it to be in the last stages of decay, and when even cautious judges had come to regard it as decidedly on the decline is a phenomenon the significance of which has only gradually been revealing itself. Bismarck's success is no isolated phenomenon. He is not a man who suddenly appeared in Prussia and turned the current of his age in an opposite direction; but he is a world historical personage that called forces that lay dormant, divided, and half doubtful of themselves into irresistible activity and triumphant self-consciousness. He had behind him not only the traditions of Frederick and Prussia and

the hard-grained nobility and population of the old provinces, he had also the subtle and powerful support of tendencies native in German thought. These tendencies naturally found their clearest, or, at any rate, their deepest expression in German philosophy and had done a great deal to prepare the ground for him. At the commencement of the French Revolution, German thinkers had been deeply and sympathetically moved by the philosophic and democratic humanitarianism of the French *philosophes* and in particular by Rousseau. Kant, Herder, Fichte, all are busy for a time defending, explaining, and adapting the general views as to the Rights of Man and the cosmopolitan humanitarian ideals proclaimed by the Revolution and its prophet Rousseau. Kant in particular was and remained a whole-souled follower of these ideals. But with most of the others a reaction began. Long before, indeed, in Goethe's young days, as he tells us in his memoirs, the literary and poetic youth of Germany had begun to feel an artistic antagonism to the French spirit to which Lessing eventually gave a powerful and classic expression. There was something in the clear-cut logic of the French *Aufklärung* which did not fully satisfy the sense of life in the philosophic and transcendental German. This antagonism of spirit and intellect got a sharp stimulus from the insolence of domination which showed itself early in the generals and commissioners of the conquering republic and it was eventually roused into defiant opposition by the exactions and oppressions of Napoleon. The North German in particular was driven from cosmopolitanism back on national ideals. Goethe who had been born in the free city of Frankfurt and had none of the traditions or instincts of a great State in his life was hardly affected by all that, but you can see it in most of the others, even in Herder. It is most clearly and fully manifested, however, in Fichte's life and works.

*Fichte's Ideal of the State.*

In his early work on the French Revolution, written in 1793, he is still wholly the disciple of Rousseau and restates with more philosophic care the democratic and cosmopolitan teaching of the *Contrat Social*. He accepts the idea of the State as a contract between Government and governed, not indeed as historical but as "implied in the rational nature of



man." "We are our own property," he says with an emphasis which was then revolutionary; "we bear in our breast the letters of emancipation. . . . The reason in us, the pure ego, is alone that which is master in us. No entity has a right to use our powers for its own purposes." And if the State should say: "ungrateful being, I have trained you, brought you up and can therefore demand your service", Fichte would reply: "Then, O State, you have brought me up to serve your ends not my own, you have handled me as a piece of dead material." But he adds, "make me from an animal to a man [that is, give me freedom] then first I can consider it. Maybe you can educate me to say, yes. But you cannot hang Culture like a mantle about my neck. After all I must owe it to myself if I am anything for myself and it is society rather than the State that gives us Kultur."

To him as to Herder and other thinkers of that age the ambition of despotic monarchs (a Philip II or a Louis XIV, or a Charles XII) seems the great danger to European peace. Every despotic monarchy, he remarks, strives ceaselessly after universal monarchy—*die Universalmonarchie*, the phrase of that time for supremacy or hegemony. But nevertheless he sees nothing to be gained under present conditions by the ordinary man in maintaining or fighting for what diplomatists call the balance of power. "What gain is there in opposing a universal conqueror only to be governed by small despots? We would at least get peace the other way. He almost gives up the conception of a nationality and a national State." He speaks as if he cared nothing for German nationality or unity in comparison with a cosmopolitan peace. "Do you believe," he asks, "that the German farmer or artist is much concerned to have the Alsatian or Lorraine farmer or artist with his town or village placed henceforth under the heading of the German Empire in books of geography?" (*Werke*, Vol. VI, p. 96). A sentence which is almost a welcome to the Revolutionary armies in the Rhinelands. He does not recognize the State as the source of right in property but would found it on a rational principle, the right of labour. He criticizes sharply and with true revolutionary fervour the claims and privileges of princes and nobles. He is a true disciple of the Revolution and Rousseau in this early work and so individualistic in his

view of "the rights of man" that the claims of the State almost disappear in the idea of the right of the "pure Ego" to determine its own development. In the *Sittenlehre*, or doctrine of moral obligation to the State, which he published five years later, he is seeking for a principle of authority in the State by which the various wills of individuals are to be harmonized, and he finds it in the idea that the State has an end of its own distinct from the interests of the individuals who compose it. This end is moral and is conceived rather abstractly as the fulfilment of Right. Right is an absolute end in itself and is to be carried out although no one finds profit by it. "Das Recht ist weil es sein soll, es ist absolut, es soll durchgesetzt werden und wenn niemand dabeit sich wohl befände." . . . "Government is not established for the good of the government only," a doctrine which is to lead him far from the philosophy of the Enlightenment. His tone in speaking of social inequalities is distinctly moderate though his views are progressive. "Progress," he says, "is only possible through the existence of the lower working class; it would cease if every one had a hand to hand struggle with nature. They must do their duty under leadership of the knowledge of the higher classes. And they should honour the higher classes in the same way as we honour scholars or artists outside of their profession as understanding more and seeing further—but not with a blind obedience." But all such distinctions and privileges he insists are to be founded on reason and on the "agreement" of classes. A whole class, he admits, or a decided majority of them, may demand a change in its constitutional rights and he adds that "the privileged classes would be wise never to let it come to a conflict, but gradually surrender their privileges." (Werke, Vol. IV, p. 363).

His German editor (of 1846) explains the change in Fichte's tone and views as the logical completion of his doctrine of the Ego, he being now occupied with the empirical realization of the Ego after having treated it in its purely rational aspect. In that wonderful language invented by German philosophy for the idealization of thought, it is "the unification (*Ineinsfallen*) of the pure and empirical Ego" which Fichte is now working at. But it is probable that the spectacle of the disordered and demoralized German States under the



domination of the Revolutionary armies had begun to affect his attitude towards revolutionary philosophy. By 1802 the transformation of the Revolution with its watchwords of liberty and fraternity into a vision of conquest and domination had become clear to all and many who had been well-wishers in its early days now began to scrutinize more carefully the principles on which it had been founded. Wordsworth broke with it publicly at this time in some famous sonnets, and Fichte in a new book, (the *Grundzüge*, 1804) formally disowns it. He now characterizes the thought of the Enlightenment almost as that of a rash and impious age; it represents an ideal of "empty freedom" which is not distinguished from license. As a revolt against the blind instinctive form of reason embodied in tradition it may be justified but it attains to no deeper form of reason itself, not even to as deep. Its characteristic is a clear but shallow use of the understanding, working on the experience of a day, which it makes the measure of the mysterious unfathomable nature of man. It had no discernment of the truths hidden in the long experience of the race (*Gattung*) and "could see nothing real but the life of the individual and what belongs to it." . . . "The race, which is precisely that which alone truly exists, had become an abstraction to it." . . . "But to set one's life on the life of the race is to set it on ideas; the individual must offer up all other joy to this."

Further on Fichte identified the end of the race with that of the State as all its relations are to be established on the same law of reason,—*der Zweck des Staats ist . . . kein anderer, als der der menschlichen Gattung selber: dass alle ihre Verhältnisse nach dem Vernunftgesetze eingerichtet werden* (Werke, Vol. VII, pp. 145, 161). And as not all individuals understand the duty of sacrificing their individual life to the life of the race, it follows that for such as do not, the State must be a form of compulsion (eine Zwangsanstalt), but for those who understand life in the idea, it is a free artistic organism.

But this age of shallow enlightenment, of "complete unfetteredness without a guiding thread", will pass. It is even now passing into a new age of reasoned knowledge. Here is where our thoughtful philosophic Germans are to find their mission, and a few years later Fichte gave full expression to

this idea in a series of lectures, the famous *Reden* or addresses to the German nation.

In 1805 Germany seemed to be going to pieces. Much of it had been incorporated with France. Sixteen German princes joined the Confederation of the Rhine under the auspices and protection of Napoleon. German culture, German laws and traditions seemed to be disappearing before the immense prestige and practical power of France under Napoleon. And Prussia seemed to be looking on in callous indifference, making friendly arrangements with the conqueror and fishing bits of territory for herself out of the ruin of Germany. In 1806 Prussia herself, rousing to action too late, was broken at the battle of Jena and became practically a vassal of Napoleon. Fichte thought the very existence of Germany and even of German culture was in danger and was roused to examine more closely than ever all that is involved in the conception of a nation and its culture. The result was his *Reden* or "Addresses to the German Nation," delivered in 1807, in Berlin, with French troops parading under the windows of his lecture room. He begins encouragingly—for that is part of his purpose—by saying that the new age (foretold in the *Grundzüge*) is arriving, the very demoralization of Germany is calling it forth. Napoleon has schooled us, he has taught us with whips of scorpions that the selfish Particularism of the different German states and the sensuous and materialistic individualism which we have been hiding under the fine phrases of Humanity, Liberalism, (those outlandish words), and the will of the People might more rightly be described as moral slothfulness, and conduct devoid of dignity. We must have a strong sense of nationality if we are not to go under. We must bring the idea of a national end in connection with a moral world process into vitality and inspire an enthusiasm that rises above narrow and material interests. "The faith of the noble man in the lasting value of his activity on this earth is grounded on the hope of the eternal duration of the nation out of which he has developed himself." . . . The blossoming of the eternal and the divine has its roots there. . . From this point of view we see the true majesty and authority of the ruler and his task. It is only with the clear consciousness of great ends in the national life that he is entitled to call its armed force together



and set all, life, welfare, yea; the existence of the State itself, at stake. In the mere maintenance of laws and civic welfare, there is no real life of its own for the nation, no vital originality. How is our nation to be raised then from its debasement, Fichte asks? By education, he answers, by a system of education on a fundamentally different principle than that which produced the moral collapse of the present generation. We must go to school again in a new way and in our own way. The first error of our educational system, led astray by outlandish theories [Rousseau's *Emile* and the like] has been to count too much on the free will of the pupil, for that is always hovering indecisively between good and ill. If you are to do anything effective with him you must do more than merely exhort him, "you must make him, and make him so that he cannot will otherwise than you will." And Fichte does not hesitate to say that the new educational system must quite annihilate the freedom of will in him, so far as the special training necessary for the State is required. For we Germans, Fichte tells his audience, are now driven by necessity to seek to form good men inwardly and fundamentally, men who have a higher measure for life than self-love and a sense of material welfare; only in such men and by such men can the German nation be preserved; a poor bad class of citizens now means that the nation will inevitably be submerged in the alien (*nothwendig mit dem Auslande Zusammenfließt*).

*German Philosophy and Deutschtum.*

And here to encourage this demoralized nation Fichte gives it a magnificent picture of its inherent virtues and faculties, setting them at the same time in contrast with the fundamentally inferior qualities of hybrid nationalities like those of France, England, Italy and other nations. First there are the glorious traditions of the Germanic race, whose destiny it was to unite the old established order of society in Europe with the Christian religion and so develop a new world. It is true he allows the English and the Franks of France some inheritance in that glorious ancestry, but they have wandered abroad and become outlanders and a hybrid race. But the Germans have kept the original seats of the race and preserved their blood pure. So Fichte thinks, ethnology

and the science of long skulls and broad skulls having not yet shaken this idea. The Germans have, therefore, preserved an original unity of instinct and tradition which is all important, for a nation must be undivided in its historic traditions, its language and its culture or no great end can exist for it, or be realized by it. The German, for example, has a pure and original language which carries a certain superior apprehension of reality with it which is wanting in languages not original to the people. This is why the culture of the Germans is real and takes hold of the national life, it is not a mere intellectual recreation (*genialisches Spiel*) as the culture of the hybrid nations is.

What is the character, for example, of philosophy amongst the Outlanders, he asks? Does it not correspond to their unoriginal nature in its inability to reconcile phenomenal existence with a vital idea of the Absolute? So he asserts, loftily overlooking Brunos and Spinozas. It cannot get past the idea of the phenomenal as grounded in something fixed and outside, a point of view which results in alienation from original being and makes death an ultimate fact—"so tritt denn der Tod und die Entfremdung von der Ursprünglichkeit, die in ihnen selbst sind, auch heraus vor ihre Augen." That is, the Englishman and the Frenchman are congenitally incapable of conceiving the ground of all reality as otherwise than a dead thing instead of the absolute life which it is. As this description of outlandish non-German philosophy obviously includes not only all forms of French dualism and English empiricism but also the Kantian system with its irreducible thing-in-itself, Fichte is obliged to admit that the philosophy at present prevailing in Germany is "not German but outlandish" (*Ausländerei*). He has long since broken with Kant and has no doubt much satisfaction in putting it this way. Kant, he virtually says, though without naming him, is only the highest form of this outland philosophy, the final development, let us say, of Locke and Hume's way of looking at things.

True German philosophy is something different and corresponds to the original nature of the German. The true German philosophy—in Fichte's own phrase, the true philosophy which arrives at finality in itself and truly penetrates past phenomenal manifestation to the core of the same—"takes its



point of departure from the one, pure, divine life in its absolute aspect and sees how this life moves with endless unfolding and closing in the phenomenal, and according to this law first becomes a being and a something. True Being arises in it, and is not an external presupposition as in the outlander's philosophy. . . . This is the true German philosophy and so far as one is a true German he will not be able to philosophize otherwise." From this point of view Fichte and Schelling must then have been almost the only true Germans philosophizing, but he has in his mind, I imagine, the older school of thought in German mystics like Eckhart and in Leibnitz.

There is certainly much arrogance in Fichte's comparison of the philosophical productivity of the other nations, and not a little narrow-mindedness also in a view which makes so light of what Germany owed to previous efforts at a philosophy of the Absolute. But there is much truth in it too. In particular it was the task of German philosophy to undo the rather coarse work of the Enlightenment, to correct the logic of recklessly speculative La Mettries and Diderots and the inadequate conceptions of Rousseau regarding liberty and the rights of individuals to do wrong. And it had to supplement the deficiencies of English empiricism which, though it was more prudent and practical, only harmonized the real and the ideal aspects of life, the claims of the individual and the State in a mechanical and external way. German philosophy took up that task and extending itself in more concrete and popular forms of thought amongst German jurists, historians and writers in general secured a fuller consideration of many views that had passed for incontrovertible at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Much defective reasoning, many crude views of life which could once find a place in the thinking of a Diderot, a Rousseau or a Bentham it discredited and dispelled from the real world of intelligence, though they may still find a home in English Byleses and American Jack Londons and occasionally take an airing, in some cheap disguise, in Radical journalism.

There was truth then in Fichte's view of German philosophy, but there was even more prophecy. When he wrote it, Hegel had not yet risen above the horizon, and Fichte is really the banner-bearer of a new philosophy, of a new form of logic,

and like all innovators and reformers very much disposed to regard his discovery as the one thing needful to the universe and as summing up in itself the virtues of all that has been and is to be.

Perhaps Fichte's boldest flight, however, is his idealization of the Germans as State builders, the Germans who at any rate at that time had failed so conspicuously in this very respect and in whose hands the old German Empire—never a very firm construction—had so long been going to pieces. Spain had built up the greatest monarchy of the 16th century and peopled half the new world. France had put together out of elements originally rather diverse the most homogeneous national structure in Europe. Britain had built up a world-wide empire and planted a great new nation with Anglo-Saxon speech and traditions across the ocean; she had to her credit the very practical creation of a Parliamentary system which made the government of a free modern State possible. But all that, though it embarrasses Fichte a little in his reasoning, is treated by him as possessing only "a show of grandeur (*einen Anschein von Erhabenheit*); it is at bottom mere "machinery and mechanism," really founded on constraint (*Zwang*) not on complete rational consent; it is not constructed on the ideal principles of a true and complete State. "We Germans," he says, "understand all that sort of thing, in doctrine, better than those outlanders themselves and if we have not carried it into practical effect ourselves, it is because we feel that kind of construction after all is not the perfect one and so we have preferred to stay by the old form till the perfect one comes to us."

We must allow something for the height of ideal vision from which Fichte is speaking—he is thinking mainly of the new rational type of State the German is to build—and something also for his willingness to insert a word of apology for the absolutism of the Prussian State to which he belongs. But nevertheless when one considers what the condition of Germany was when Fichte spoke, the disorders of the Southern Germany states during the previous fifteen years, the total want of confidence between rulers and people at the outbreak of the Revolution, the conditions of life under the petty despotism of ducal and grand-ducal dynasties, one must consider



Fichte's claims as a mishandling of facts to suit an ideal theory. And this vice is but too typical of German thought. To this day it remains as a fatal heritage to Germans from their idealistic philosophy of history and has led them where they are now. The theorizing of the past, of accomplished fact, has its value as contributing to man's higher vision and forming his moral sense of destiny. The theorizing of the future needs a caution and modesty which seem to be lacking in the modern German, for truth, or life, is always taking a new and unexpected shape.

Fichte's *Reden*, which passed the French censorship which then reigned in Berlin, I suppose because the censor could not understand him or wade through the mass of ideal abstractions in which Fichte unfolded his opinions, were gratefully acknowledged by the King of Prussia, and Fichte himself became the first rector of the new university established in 1810 at Berlin. In 1813 he published his last great work, the *Staatslehre* or Doctrine of the State. Here he gathers up and restates with more system and detail all his views on the nature and organization of the State. For the ordinary man the temporal earthly life and its maintenance is an ultimate end, an end in itself; for him the State is only there to protect his property and is a necessary evil because it costs money, and is therefore to be reduced in its functions and sphere as much as possible. If he has any reverence for government it depends on obsolete or superstitious ideas such as the divine right of kings or an irrational conception of national honour. But the true view is that the life of the State involves a moral task. Individual life and its maintenance can never be an end in itself but only a means. Except as a means the life of the individual has no true value at all, being only an empty illusory phenomenal manifestation with nothing behind it. Only the life of him who lives in an eternal end can never die . . . . for life itself is immortal. This eternal life is to be realized for the individual in the State. The State must be rationally organized to serve that end, which is identifiable with Right. For such a State it is necessary that the Many should comprehend itself as One, as a unity, and for this it is necessary that they should have (1) a common speech, which carries with it a common moral tradition, (2) a common law, (3) a common

history. He accepts, but on a free rational basis, the division of classes. Fundamental in his conception of the State is the position and authority he assigns to the ruler or supreme authority, whether that be in the form of a monarch or a Council. The right of compulsion which Fichte accords to the ruler is very comprehensive, though restricted to the moral ends which the State is to serve. Men, he says, are of a recalcitrant nature and need to be compelled by the higher insight under the dominion of Right whether they understand it or not. This compulsion is the indispensable condition of developing insight and capacity of discipline in them. He calls the ruler or governing power therefore the *Zwingherr* or compulsion-wielder. Only with this compulsion there must be inseparably combined an educational system to make this higher insight the common possession of all. Unless this harmony can be produced within a reasonable period, there is something wrong in the State, for only thus can the freedom of a true State be maintained, the governed becoming thus in their turn the judges of the governor. The *Zwingherr* therefore is at the same time the Educator or Trainer in order as educator to negate or annihilate himself as compeller. (Werke, Vol. VII, p. 438). Very important, therefore, is the function of the *Gelehrter*, the scholars or thinkers, in whose hands this work of education mainly lies. They form a mediating class between the Government and the people, interpreting and conveying the "higher insight" of the Government to the nation but also reacting on that insight, and modifying it in accordance with the best intelligence of the time. It is in this way that harmony between the ruler and the ruled is produced and rational freedom and progress made possible in a true State. The work of the *Gelehrter*, the thinkers and scholars, really "those who know," to use Dante's comprehensive phrase, has of course both its formal and informal aspects; practically it represents educated opinion which is much more firmly organized in Germany than it is here in America. In Germany they would not consider the opinions of a mushroom millionaire, who boasts that he knows nothing about the history of civilization and nations, as of much value on international questions.

Fichte's view of the State, especially the large measure of control which he allows to the "ruler," may seem very conser-



vative and even obsolete to modern readers in our democracies. His patriotism found favour in the eyes of high Prussian personages, as I have mentioned, in those earlier days of revolution and conflict, but his views of government and authority, strict as they were, really rested too much on pure ideas of reason, and too little on patrimonial and historical right to please the Prussian authorities of a later time when the full tide of reaction set in after the fall of Napoleon. The author of the *Beiträge* had said too many sharp things about kings and nobles to be a much loved name in high regions. Yet he remains the fountain head of the reconstruction of State philosophy on conservative lines which went on strengthening and broadening in a great stream of philosophic juristic and historical work down to our own time. Hegel, who succeeded to Fichte's chair in Berlin, repeats and develops the latter's ideas of the State with a certain superiority both of system and expression. In particular he gives a bold and brilliant development to some ideas such as the mission of the individual State and its relation to the World-soul, the historical right of existing institutions, the fundamental inadequacy of popular judgment and other ideas which the old disciple of Rousseau and the Revolution either left obscure or handled with some evasiveness. Hegel emphasizes the fact that the constitution of a State is not an abstract form to be imposed on a people; it is growth which embodies an age-long adjustment by interaction of the habits and faculties of a people to its institutions and laws; it is a phase or moment in a continuous process or development which must not be rashly or ignorantly interfered with and broken. It can be properly developed only in a logical connection and sequence of its forces. Its Art, its Law, its Religion are all manifestations of an ideal in the national life which it strives to realize and in doing this it rises above the mere temporal and secular existence of the individual into contact with the Absolute Spirit—the world-soul. It is an expression of that world-soul and the highest stage of its development.

Hegel rejects with scorn the idea that there can be any freedom worth having in the supposed "state of nature," which would be a state in which the brute instincts and passions would have free play; but whether we take his view or Locke's

on that question it is evident that a man born into a state of society is not born free in an absolute sense but into a social life which involves many relations and duties which call for discipline and obedience. To accept these as long as they exist is a necessary form of State morality. We cannot act effectively for an indefinite good or for abstract ends which have no organ for their embodiment.

Again, as the life of the State is the highest expression of the world-soul and "world-historical" states have a mission in the development of that Soul, to serve the ends of such a State is a paramount obligation and superior to the claims of mere personal inward morality. "Moral claims," Hegel writes in his *Philosophy of History*, "are here irrelevant and must not be brought into collision with world-historical deeds and their accomplishment. The Litany of private virtues—modesty, humility, philanthropy and forbearance—must not be raised against them. The history of the world might, on principle, entirely ignore the circle within which morality and the so much talked of distinction between the moral and the political lies. . . . A nation is moral, virtuous, vigorous while it is engaged in realizing its grand ends. But this once attained it sinks; it has its desire and ceases from activity. . . . it passes into the enjoyment of itself . . . . it begins to put talk about virtue in place of actual virtue . . . this is the beginning of its natural death."

With regard to the organization of the State he criticizes Rousseau's ideal of the sovereign-people as illusory. It is only a few deputies who decide and the sway of the majority over the minority is an obvious inconsistency. And were it even practicable the rule of the people would be in the eyes of Hegel irrational. French plebiscites and American referendums would have been a horror to him, had he lived to see them. In the true State, he says, those who know govern, not the ignorant. "The people (*das Volk*) does not really know what it wills," that is, it needs to have its best instincts, its higher self interpreted to it and resolutely enforced by trained insight and intelligence. After a rather inadequate and unsympathetic account of English Parliamentary development he expresses an opinion that the Reform Bill which was then being pressed forward (1831) "may destroy the trained body of statesmen



drawn from the wealthy and aristocratic classes who have experience and insight . . . and make government [of any wise kind] impossible."

He repeats with greater precision and brilliancy of exposition Fichte's idea of hybrid peoples. England is noticed, however, as having preserved a certain "fidelity to native (Germanic) character." The world-soul has manifested itself in four great periods of development, the Oriental, the Greek, the Roman and the Germanic. In each period the "chosen" race has an absolute power or right against which the peoples are (in an ideal sense) without rights (*rechtlos*). The German spirit is the spirit of the present period and it will close with a Germanic world-empire. All this, which has an ideal element of truth in it as an attempt to express the spirit moving in the history of civilization, has been applied recklessly and arrogantly enough to the history of Germany itself, and even to that of the Hohenzollern dynasty, by later writers and historians. There have been plenty of protests, of course, especially from the older Progressist leaders and from the Social-Democrats, and much criticism from other schools of thought. Nietzsche himself opposed this crude form of Teutonism while he fed its arrogance morally. But the idea steadily strengthened as a national tradition, especially after 1866, and as we have seen it was the real inspiration of the nation, expressed in a hundred forms by Sudermanns, Ostwalds, Bahrs, Hardens and others, at the outbreak of the present war.

#### *The Influence of German Jurists.*

We see then what a powerful auxiliary the Prussian Government and the supporters of a strong monarchy in general possessed in the new philosophy when the conflict over the revision of the Prussian Constitution began in 1850. The theoretic question of the true principles of State organization, the doctrine of sovereignty and the relation of the monarch to the State became intensely practical questions. The whole matter was formally *sub judice* as it rarely is in the history of a nation, and German jurists who have always been a very important class in Germany began to exercise a decided influence on practical politics with their theories. One of these,

Frederick J. Stahl, revived with great success the old religious idea of the State as a divine institution resting on the expressed will and ordinance of God. In Stahl's view the historic development of the State and the particular character of its government had its origin in the working of the Divine providence and had therefore the Divine sanction. But only those constitutions resting on a historic foundation possess this divine sanction. Revolutionary states founded on man's will have no such sanction, but are anti-Christian in their nature. It was almost Bossuet's old Catholic ideal of the State, with the monarch as the vice-gerent of God, but it got a new support and a more modern form from a transcendental conception of the national life consciousness as representing God's will. It was a philosophic basis for his doctrine of the State which Stahl had drawn from Hegel's idea of the State as the manifestation of the world-soul. And with this fundamental idea Stahl combined a vigorous and fundamental criticism of the typical Liberal and Radical doctrines, the dangers in the rule of a Parliamentary majority and in the system of counting heads as a means of obtaining wise counsels and determining what was right. Stahl was a practical politician as well as a writer and as a leader of the Conservative party in Parliament and had a considerable influence on opinion during that important period of the conflict over the constitution. His theories seemed hardly serious to Dahlmann, Humboldt and the champions of Liberal ideas, but his books were very successful in consolidating and popularizing a mass of conservative opinion, and especially in giving the support of a strong, clear and comprehensive political theory to the opinions of the king and leaders of the 'old Prussian' party like Bismarck and Gerlach. Stahl's book on *The Christian State* was for long a classic in Germany and his theory of the State seems still to-day to have at least one eminent supporter in the Kaiser himself.

But in one way or other the majority of German juristic writers still tend to insist on indefeasible and independent personal right in the monarch and to limit or evade the democratic principle of the "sovereign people." Some still maintain that sovereignty is "a pure private right" of the monarch, but the more judicious separate the idea of sovereignty as



merely formal from that of the State-Power (Staatsgewalt), the constitution of which depends on and reflects historic and actual conditions. The general tendency is to regard the State as a historic growth which justifies itself as an existing fact, and also as a rational and moral necessity, though recent jurists look shyly at the more metaphysical aspects of Hegel's doctrine of its connection with the world-spirit, which perhaps, as Jellinek remarks, is more a matter of faith than knowledge. The monarch, besides sharing in the legislative power as giving final sanction to what is to be law, is invested with the power of the State as its organ or bearer (*Träger der Staatsgewalt*) but, in Prussia, with a specific right in his person and very independent and extensive powers of executive. There is nothing transcendental in this modern juristic treatment of the State which is scientific rather than specially philosophic, but it tends decidedly to expose the inadequacy of Parliamentary majorities as the central power of the State and to emphasize the need of the personal rule of the monarch and his value as a mediator between different classes or parties and the most impartial and discerning judge of the national interests. Parliament is regarded only as a restricted and auxiliary organ. The responsibility of the ministers, that keystone of representative government, is interpreted merely as a moral responsibility "to keep harmony" between the king and the Parliament or people. The idea of contract or consent as the foundation of the State, to which Liberalism owes, directly and indirectly, so much of its development, is carefully put aside by German juristic science. In these and some other respects such as a tendency to recognize the *Machttheorie*, or right of the strongest, as a historical process,\* it has in the main been true to its origin in the old ideal or absolute philosophy and a consistent opponent of the *Aufklärung*, the Revolution, and democratic principles in general.

#### *The Influence of Historians.*

But it is not the work of its jurists that has done most to form the soul of modern Germany; even in that land of learn-

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\*This is not so common amongst scientific jurists as amongst a looser class of writers. See Jellinek, *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, p. 186.

ing juristic theory is not exactly a popular study. It is far more the historians of Germany that have been the effective means of bringing the ideal doctrines of German philosophy, in the Fichtean sense, home to the heart of the people. They have translated its characteristic doctrines into a concrete and popular form. Many who would hesitate to countenance doctrines of absolute rule and *Realpolitik* and the right of conquest and the mission of the nation as formal theories, accept them with enthusiasm when the historian presents them with the rounded unity of life in his pages. A plain but impressive picture from Sybel of the confusion of Parliamentary opinion at a critical time and a sentence emphasizing the need of a clearer, more discerning will and more vigorous direction, or a vivid page from Droysen's history of Prussian growth and the sagacity of the Hohenzollerns, or the political essays of Treitschke with their suggestive visions of Germany's future and their brusque incisive criticism of democratic illusions, these have done most to form the mind of the people. But to my mind the two greatest monuments of this nationalistic literature, its greatest documents, are Bismarck's *Speeches* and Treitschke's *History*. Bismarck's *Speeches* are masterpieces in their kind. It was Julian Schmidt, I think, a very fine and philosophic critic of history, who in the old days characterized Bismarck as "a man of positively no ideas," and that seems to have represented fairly enough the general judgment of the distinguished Liberals of the time. But from the very beginning of his career as a deputy to the United Diets in 1847 Bismarck's speeches represent admirably the solid practical form which a politician would give to the new philosophic conceptions of the State. They are not a mere repetition of the dead traditions of Junkerdom but contain a new realistic analysis of men and events. His utterances on the Polish question are brutal at times, but they express, as a practical statesman might, that ideal of the homogeneity of national life and traditions which Fichte and Hegel had taught; and the famous speech on the conflict of France, the 'bleed-white' speech, is just a candid and concrete form of the *Machttheorie*. And his power of phrase, that curt, incisive, vivid, earth-born phrase of his, is that of a great practical artist in expression.



Treitschke, in his History at least, is the poet of the nationalistic movement almost more than its historian. It is in his hands that the view of German growth and development as a decisive victory over the French Revolution and the Aufklärung and a complete refutation also of English Liberalism with its Parliamentary system and commercial Gospel attains the most brilliant literary expression. His intellectual energy is equal to all topics, political, literary, or philosophic, and he treats them all with a force of conviction and enthusiasm which is contagious. He can mark too, and does mark in the most incisive language, the vices which accompany the resurgence of the German national spirit, "*das neue Deutschland*," at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the raw and arrogant hate of other nations, the reckless bragging (*Prahlerei*), the contempt of all refinement, the tendency to mistake coarseness for sincerity. These faults he acknowledges are native to the German character. (*Deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 307). He seems to be unconscious that he has his fair share of them, and that his habitual manner of thinking of the world, like Fichte, as divided into Germans and barbarians—or intellectual imbeciles, is just as extravagant as the patriotic gasconading of old Turnvater Jahn. His usual way of characterizing a democratic opinion or sentiment is to say that it is un-German, or *eine Europäische Rede*, a European [*cosmopolitan*] form of thinking. The general result was to create a national spirit in which an ideal theory of life was blended with a harsh realism of method and sentiment. The combination was not new in history but the German product was new in its character and basis. The idea of the right of conquest—the *Machttheorie* in its international aspect—which has had many bases, religious, moral and philosophic, drew a new and harder aspect from the physical theory of Haeckel. And the *Machttheorie* in its national and social forms, whether acknowledged or not, has tended to give a sternly realistic character to the German view of life. Even historians whose opinions were in theory liberal and constitutional show the influence of very different doctrines. Mommsen's contemptuous picture of the high-minded Cato's opposition to Caesar's ambition as merely that of an "obstinate old fool" is ably supported as usual by a comprehensive analysis of the situation in the Roman world of

that time. But I think every one must feel that it is inadequately moralized as a view of human life. After all Sallust and Virgil thought otherwise and they knew their Roman world better even than Theodor Mommsen. Mommsen's work here differs essentially from that of Carlyle, whose way of rationalizing "the sacred verdict of history" remains always profoundly ethical.

Of course, there was and always has been plenty of opposition to this excessive *Deutschtum* or Germanism with its aggressive theories, opposition too of the most distinguished kind, from eminent thinkers and scholars, from the philosophic and juristic followers of Kant, from active and leading politicians; and in all classes from the prudent and liberal-minded Coburg-Gotha princes to the Radical politicians of Carlsruhe and Munich. Nor do all the enthusiasts of *Deutschtum* go the whole way with Treitschke, their idealism is often crossed by liberalizing tendencies. The old form of Reaction as long as it seemed to be mere "Prussianism" and aristocratic politics was never quite successful in carrying the people with it, but when the formation of the new German Empire in 1870 gave it a nobler and more imposing form as a realization of the ideal visions of Fichte and Hegel, the conception of Germanic supremacy amongst nations began to take a firm hold of the German people. The records of its growth and progress begin everywhere after Bismarck's success in Schleswig-Holstein and the war with Austria. You can read them in the life and works of Sybel or Fontane just as well as in the speeches and diplomacy of the Kaiser and his chancellors, or in the much-quoted Bernhardi.

No doubt this view of German development leaves out many things, but these things are not the things which have determined the main current of the national life and moulded the spirit of the modern German; they are the things which have failed, which have sunk out of sight almost, or live some kind of anemic life in hopeless opposition. It is the disregard of this fact that makes the celebrated proclamation of the 91 scholars and thinkers of Germany a weak and evasive document which should never have had certain signatures attached to it.



*Reflections on the Modern State.*

The German system of government has serious defects. I doubt if it can be said that it exists by the full and free consent of the people in the sense in which that would be true of the English and American governments. The various Parliamentary parties that are in general or occasional opposition to the Government measures, the Social-Democratic party, the Progressists and even the National Liberals, besides other fractions of Poles, Alsace-Lorrainers, Danes from North Schleswig represent in general an opposition to the constitution itself of the State. Of course, the German government is not founded on the principle of consent. But apart from the constitutional question it cannot be denied that the German government has secured the respect of its people and a *de facto* adherence from many who are in theory opponents of the constitution. It is honest and efficient in administration. The men it puts at the head of things have made these things the study of their lives and are scientifically competent. It does not put great military and naval departments under the control of men who are neither soldiers nor sailors. But with our system the heads must be politicians and platform orators first and it is lucky if they are anything at all besides. The constitution of the United States makes provision for a better practice though they make no use of it and follow the traditions of British Liberalism. But Government in Germany is not only efficient in this administrative sphere, it is also thoughtful and strong in general initiative. The idea of State leadership and initiative has always been strong in Germany. It is perhaps one of the beneficial legacies from the old days of Absolutism and certainly one of the best of the Frederician traditions which Prussia has carried over into the government of the Empire. Even Fichte as we have seen allowed great powers to the government for moral ends, and modern German jurists, I observe, almost unanimously favour State action wherever it can be made useful, and this is the general sentiment of the people. But British Liberalism and all its offshoots grew up in a distrust of State intervention which was in many ways suitable to that time. Even yet British opinion calls for Government intervention only when it is forced to find a remedy

for some crying evil, as one calls in the doctor in time of sickness. But the German Government has long cast aside such doctrinaire prepossessions, and directs and co-operates wherever it can be useful. It had excellent training in the heavy work which Prussia undertook in the old days of the Zollverein arrangements. It realized early, therefore, the value of the State power constructively used in support of industry and commerce, especially in an age when the smaller forms of business enterprise had given place to our immense modern systems of industry and transportation and when a more scientific knowledge of economics made intervention safer. The success of Germany in this direction lies open to the eyes of all the world. Led by the whole trend of German thought and philosophy, as we have seen, she has been the first to realize the character of this new era and the place which the State power may take in it. Therefore she has had the initiative all through it, in the scientific treatment of tariffs, in the so-called Socialistic legislation (where England has slowly followed) and in the co-operation of the State with industry and commerce. Just as England for 200 years had the initiative in the development of Parliamentary institutions, and of colonial expansion, and in the forms of commercial enterprise which were adapted to that period. In many ways Germany is a standing challenge to the great democracies to develop more effective leadership or to succumb in an era of keen, almost fierce, international competition. The present war is largely a condensed form of that competition. German military and political supremacy, used with the habitual German ruthlessness, would carry with it a commercial domination which would eventually press very heavily on the other nations; that is part of the tempting vision which has led the German nation on its path. There are signs already that the war will end in a virtual defeat at least for the Central Powers, but that may only mean that it will subside into a no less keen and hardly less bitter form of trade competition and conflict. It depends very much on the mood and the views of the German people after the war and what they may be able to do or willing to do with a constitution which gives them very little power of impressing their will on the Government. Suppose they say to us: "Our government is better than yours, superior in effi-



ciency and scientific method, stronger in initiative and leadership. It may be harsh to the alien elements amongst us, but we approve of that as preserving our unity and our traditions as a nation; it is not harsh with us, us Germans, we believe in its strict maintenance of order and discipline and like it, as all sensible people do; and it is really more thoughtful, more indulgent with us and less capricious than your democratic governments with their moral airs and make-believe on the surface, and all kinds of slackness and political chicanery below. We will keep our system of government." I can imagine the German saying that. In that case the fight will be on, in its "peaceful" form just as before, for an absolute type of government will always seek to justify and accredit itself by schemes of conquest which are somewhat different from the natural expansion of peoples and more ruthless in their malignity. Then the question for the great democracies of Britain, France, and of America too, will be, is their Government capable of effective leadership? In England they have to put their trust mainly in orators and lawyers. But a lawyer is not a man whose work develops constructive energy or the constructive habit; he is accustomed to sit in a chair and decide, by logic, on the doings of other men. I would rather trust a well trained aristocrat who had been accustomed to the practical management of men and a great estate all his life, or the head of a big business if his education were liberal enough and he had been caught early.

There may even be a question in some democracies if party government is honest enough, that is impartial enough, free enough from the pressure of party, to take the active part in co-operation with the economic interests of the country that the German government does. Would there not be scandals over the support given to this industry or that, to this or the other transportation system? We do it in Canada, circumstances are too strong for our theories, but we do it without clear system and with more or less risk of scandal.

But if we have our lesson to learn from Germany, Germany has certainly something to learn from us. I would grant the German his idea of the State as embodying a cultural end which expresses the traditions, the instincts and characteristics of the people. It is impossible to look at the aimless, un-

directed, uninspired life of the ordinary man in our American democracies and not see that it needs some such support. Some may stifle this need successfully by sinking themselves in business or science, or art, or literature, but all these to be really healthy must be felt as moments in a national life which is concentrated, clarified, and vigorously reflected in the spirit and action of the State. And the State must do what it can reasonably do to make this life of the nation homogeneous and universal as an inspiring and supporting tradition for every one of its members. The German State has done too much in this way, its operations are too harsh and ruthless. But it is evident that the American government, for example, has been doing too little, the nation is in danger of becoming a conglomeration of diverse traditions and instincts, that is, of having no national tradition at all. It was otherwise once, but now the national tradition has sunk in a confusion of tongues. If you talk to an American of 50 years and an American of 25, (both ordinary business men and genuine Americans), you may chance to see the difference; the one has still a breath of the old proud Americanism about him and can respond to its higher calls, the other has nothing except a conviction that you have got to be sharp and look out for yourself. He thinks, too, that he 'knows all about it,' or, if not, that he can find it out in an Encyclopædia. That is what too little use of the State power has brought the country of Daniel Webster and Lincoln to, now that it has no longer any consciousness of great ends to pursue. It is a mere accident of the political situation that has at length forced both the great parties to put the watchword of "Americanism" on their banners.

But if it is evident that a nation should have an ideal of culture and a tradition which the State may support and even enforce in a reasonable way, it is still clearer that we cannot afford to allow any nation or race to set up its ideal in deliberate opposition to the principles of humanity and civilization, or revive the idea of a military Roman Empire or the Napoleonic dream of supremacy. And this is what Germany has been doing. The ideal of the tradition or mission of the nation has been perverted by alliance with Prussian Junkerdom. The forty years of peace that the Germans point to as proof of their pacific intentions have been forty years of steady scien-



tific preparation and education of the people for this war. It may not be without difficulty, but we must learn to distinguish between such schemes of military domination founded deliberately on Machttheories and the conflicts arising from the more natural expansion of nations or the necessities of their position. It must always be a question of time, place and circumstances. Those who refuse to make such distinctions—as, for example, between the German invasion of Belgium and the Allies' blockade of the Greek ports—are simply confusing the moral judgment of men. The Germans do it for one reason and Pacificists like Bryan do it for another.

JAMES CAPPON.

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## APPENDIX.

### *Prussian Rule in North Schleswig.*

When Prussia took the Schleswig-Holstein provinces of Denmark in 1866, the northern part of Schleswig was old Danish land and thoroughly Danish in blood and feeling, with a population of about 200,000. By the Treaty of Prague in 1866, when Austria conceded her rights (purely of conquest) to Prussia, this district was to be restored to Denmark if a free vote of its population so decided. Bismarck never allowed that vote to be taken and twelve years later persuaded Austria to agree to a withdrawal of the stipulation by what he called a "revision" of the treaty. No doubt it was part of the price Austria paid for German support of her claims to Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Berlin Congress. The "revision" was an open violation of the principle of nationality but it was heartily supported all the same by the German press in general. A recently published book by a Swedish historian, Anton Nyström, (*Världskriget*, Stockholm) gives the following description of the manner in which Prussia is suppressing the language and the traditions of the population in what is historically and racially a genuine Danish province.

I do not know much about Nyström, but the general trustworthiness of his work is sufficiently vouched for by the notices quoted from the principal Stockholm papers. He is one of the older generation of writers and has evidently not come

under the German influences which have been so powerful in Sweden during the last thirty years and which have made Sven Hedin, Per Hallström and others whole-hearted believers in German policy and German ideas. It is to be noted that the methods Nyström describes are employed by the Prussian government to suppress the Danish language in what is and always has been a genuine Danish province and not to protect the integrity and traditions of a truly German one. For the rest they are the same methods as those employed to destroy the national character of the Polish provinces.

The Prussian government since the annexation of Schleswig has sought systematically and ruthlessly to suppress the Danish language amongst the Danish population of Schleswig. Many have therefore emigrated to America or Denmark so that the number of Schleswig Danes which in 1866 was about 200,000 has decreased. According to official reports there were in 1890 about 135,000 Danes classified as Prussian subjects besides about 30,000 alien (*utländska*) Danes.

In 1889 German was made the language of instruction in all matters in the schools of Schleswig. . . . No Danish teacher is permitted; no family may have private tutors—as they would probably be Danes—and parents are not allowed themselves to be the teachers of their children. If they attempt it, they are indicted and punished—mostly with fines. The Prussian government has also forbidden parents to send their children to schools in Denmark. In 1884 the government introduced a German song-book into the Schleswig schools and gave orders that the school children should get by heart at least twenty of the songs and in particular amongst these the well known “I am a Prussian,” and verses were specially added to it which made the Schleswig children sing that they were the North Sea watch and ward of Prussia and bound to Prussia’s throne and people by the blood shed at Düppel. [Prussian victory over the Danes]. . . . Children have been punished for speaking Danish in school or in the playground. In some places, for example, in Aabenraa, a system of fines was at one time introduced for every Danish word a child uttered; later it was changed to being “set down.”

There have not been wanting protests amongst the Germans themselves against this treatment of a district which is originally and genuinely Danish in population and historical development, Nyström admits, especially against Over-President Köller’s policy of forcible expulsion of the Danes from Schleswig; but he says truly enough that this policy is the



policy of the leading classes in Germany and an essential part of the German system.

But I should think there was little real comparison to be made, such as Mr. Bourassa made the other day, between such a system and the perfectly constitutional efforts of a genuine English-speaking province like Ontario to keep the control of its educational system and even maintain a certain unity and integrity in it.

J. C.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

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### GREAT BRITAIN.

To-day it is evident that the last six months have brought the war to the turning point, and that the Germans, though still formidable, have passed their zenith. As this question is the supreme political interest, no apology is needed for a survey that goes beyond the last issue of this magazine. Consider the difference between the beginning and the end of this important period.

The year opened amid considerable depression. The offensive undertaken by the Allies in September had at most yielded some vantage points, and, in Champagne at least, a disproportionate amount of German losses. In the east the German appeared to win all the honours. The drive against Russia had ended deep in Russian territory. Although they had signally failed in each of five attempts to break in the sides of the great salients in the Russian line and capture the armies thus enclosed, they had caused formidable losses. This spectacle produced its due effect on neutrals, if King Ferdinand could ever be called by that name, and Bulgaria was added to the Central Alliance. With the help of the new ally the Central Powers established communications with Constantinople, but failed to destroy the Serbian army, which retreated in a shattered condition over the passes to the Adriatic. The moral effect of this Balkan drive was heightened by signs of hesitancy and delay in Allied diplomacy and strategy. Nor was the full meaning of the retention of Salonika as a fortified base then realized. The new situation reacted on the Dardanelles front. Even if the peninsula were forced, the Allies would not now be advancing against an isolated Turkey. But the failure at Suvla of itself had made the gallant venture hopeless. Though they had relieved the Russians in the Caucasus from dangerous pressure, it failed in its chief object with heavy losses, and a faultlessly executed withdrawal\* hardly cheered those who remembered the hopes with which the expedition had been initiated. Thus the year ended, a year

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\*The surrender at Kut was doubtless one effect of this withdrawal.



in which the Allies had discovered many shortcomings and in which Germany had used to the utmost advantage her central position and her immense material resources. It was doubted if Salonika would hold out, and the Germans did their best to spread the impression that Egypt was the next goal. The wild men in the London press actually feared an expedition against India.

Let us now look at the reverse of the medal, for the events of this year were foreshadowed in the very nature of the German successes. Last year the chief problem confronting Germany was to crush one of her enemies before all could gather up their resources to crush her. She chose to rest on her fortified lines on the west, and concentrate on the Russian frontier, where there was no such elaborate system of entrenchments. I think I am right in saying that at no time during the drive did the Germans use as many men as needed to be kept on the western line. They relied on their heavy guns against an enemy who was at no time even adequately supplied with material, and was in straits after the great munition works near Petrograd were treacherously destroyed. As the military commentators showed amply last year, the Russians had time to withdraw after each salient was battered through because their opponents could not move faster than their heavy guns.† This was why, as the drive moved away from railways, the pace slowed to a standstill. Great as the Russian losses must have been, the upshot was that Germany had not got rid of Russia, and had placed her armies on a line more difficult to hold. This brings us to the point which is vital for the operations of this year. In the month when the drive against Russia began Germany had reached the maximum development of her army. She was fighting to secure a decision before her numbers began to fall off. I quote the following figures from the eminent French expert, General Malleterre.‡

At the beginning of the war Germany had fifty army corps, which were at once doubled. By January, 1915, ten\*

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†The Serbian army escaped for the same reason.

‡*Revue des deux Mondes*, 1 Juin, 1916. It is right to say that Mr. Belloc, whose calculations were scoffed at last year, has had his figures justified by events.

\*The last four of these had 6 regiments each instead of 8.

more were added, making a total of a hundred and ten. In April new materials began to run short. New divisions were made by rearranging the old and assigning only three regiments to each.† This brings us to the beginning of the offensive against Russia. In June ten new regiments were made up by taking single companies from various parts of the front or from depots. In the next two months some regiments were furnished by the landsturm. This represents the maximum expansion of which the cadres were capable. Henceforth Germany had to fill them up with men above or below the ordinary military age, or men who had previously been rejected. As is well-known, such additions become a weakness rather than a strength to an army in the field. These statistics apply to the cadres which the Germans were able to keep filled; the absolute decline of men in the field would of course come considerably later. Further, the two chief drives of last year were carried through by aid of men from other fronts.§ For the Russian drive men were detached from the Western line; and the Balkan campaign, initiated only after they had 'shot their bolt' in the east, was carried out by twelve divisions from that front with the aid of the Bulgarians. These carried out the limited task of clearing a passage to Constantinople. By the end of the year the Germans were within sight of the day when all their available men were called up.

If the Germans are taken at their own word, the battle of Verdun tells the same tale. It was undertaken to spoil the Allied offensive, they say. If so, for the first time they have placed themselves on the strategic defensive, and admit that the task of holding the lines they are now on is as much as they can accomplish. Earlier in the year the Chancellor bit-

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†There are two regiments to a brigade, two brigades to a division, two divisions to an army corps in normal circumstances.

§This is in accord with the German theory of using a mass of shock at a given point while the lines elsewhere are held as lightly as is compatible with safety. It is obvious that such a battering ram alone can secure victory. This year found them with the column before Verdun destroyed or tied up when the Allied stroke fell, while Austria had her mobile resources bottled up in the valleys of the Trentino. It will be interesting to notice how far these entanglements have prejudiced their munitioning.



terly confessed that to advance further could profit Germany nothing. But we need not depend upon claims or confessions made to suit the exigencies of the movement. Early in the battle recruits of the class of 1916 were captured, and in June lads of the class of 1917.\* In Germany the Government now refuses to allow any who is fit for more than garrison duty to be exempted for munitions work, however needed he may be; while Austria has actually increased the military age to 55.† The value of such men cannot be increased by law. It is only necessary to add that Bulgaria and Turkey now promise to be liabilities rather than assets to their masters.§ Such is the condition of German reserves at the beginning of the great offensive. Their armies are still extremely formidable, and it would be folly to expect a swift or easy victory. But with their numbers decreasing and the lines they hold a strain on those numbers, with the Allies still able to put new men in the field and with the munitioning question no longer an anxiety, the war now enters on a new phase. One striking mark of this turning point is the coordination planned by the military conference at Paris in spring. The offensive on every front save Salonika is a clear result of this, and it is perhaps not hazardous to conjecture that the demand for Greek demobilization is the indispensable precondition for a secure advance on that front.

If only critics would bear in mind two things while present campaign develops! Progress must be slow against an enemy who is still extremely strong and who lies in fortified positions. The second point holds of any criticism made upon generals

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\*A class is called out 20 years after the year of birth. These lads are thus called out, trained and placed in line six or eighteen months before the normal time. Many members of the class of '17 have been taken in the new offensive. They had only had three months' training. In Austria the class of '18 is under arms and that of '19 warned for service. The rate of calling up effectively disposes of the claim that losses can be made good by the recruits of each year.

†At the end of 1915.

§ "Our Turkish and Bulgarian allies are literally eating us up. We must send them money, men, etc., so that they may be able to continue the war; otherwise they will be dead weights on our back." A great Frankfurt financier to a Basel banker.

and statesmen, and may be put in the words of one of the most distinguished of naval historians. 'We must try to set forth the orders which commanding officers received, and the reasons the Government had for giving them. Above all, *we should be careful to keep in mind what they knew at the time*,† and be sure we are not assuming in them knowledge that was not in their possession, though it is now in ours. One of the most astonishing features of war history is its generosity in crediting Ministers with wisdom we have learned only from their mistakes. That is no less common than the freedom with which Admirals and Generals are criticised by men who have never seen their orders. So I would say, never adopt criticism of statesmen unless the critics you follow can quote the reasons on which their decision was formed, and never find fault with a commander unless your authority is basing what he says on the actual order given.'\* What torrents of ink would never have flowed, had this maxim been followed by our know-alls in the press!

If we follow this salutary advice, it is obvious that little can as yet be said of the battle off Jutland. The Germans failed in their object, whatever it was, with heavy loss, and henceforth a sally brings greater risks than ever. A letter from a French admiral, who appears to speak with some authority, may be cited with reserve, as it does not seem to have been quoted in Canada. According to him, one of the objects of the German fleet was to engage the attention of the British while two groups of fast vessels escaped, the one to harry the vessels munitioning Russia and to destroy the new ice-free port, the other to move down into the Atlantic. Both of these attempts, according to him, were frustrated by the British cruisers. The British have not attempted to indicate the strategical object of the enemy.

However this may be, all accounts of the battle show that the Germans failed in every strategical aim they may have had. One political need was satisfied, at least for a short space. It is a reasonable conjecture that a victory was needed

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†Italics mine.

\*Mr. Julian Corbett at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Association on 7th January, 1916. See *History* April 1916.



at that particular time, and victory was accordingly celebrated with all due pomp in Berlin and in the area to which the triumphant fleet limped home. All through this war it has seemed likely that the High Seas Fleet, having missed its initial chance, might be forced out by certain military and political conditions, and those conditions now exist. In the first place, the initiative on land was passing to the Allies, and the offensive which was to break the French had broken the picked troops who had been set aside all winter for the blow. In the second place the blockade, which it was the special duty of the Fleet to prevent, had begun to impose genuine hardship upon Germany. It is the fashion among many to discount the tales of distress that come from Germany, but there is such a thing as uncritical scepticism. The fact that last year the Germans only endured discomfort is no reason why the discomfort should not now have passed into something very near misery, for blockades are cumulative in their effect and in the latter stages very rapidly so. There is one striking difference between the German attitude last year and this. Then they published their woes to the world in order to impress neutrals; now they say little abroad beyond generalities about England's infamy, but they appoint a food dictator who throws aside the old excuse that supplies were plentiful but ill organized and confesses that there is an absolute shortage. Of innumerable proofs that discontent and misery are great and increasing but one need be selected here—and that the most convincing. A French historian\* has had the official task of examining letters found on prisoners and on the dead at Verdun. There are thousands of them and all tell one tale—of bitter misery. So unanimous is their voice that he considers the attack on Verdun to have been forced on for economic reasons, and cites some words of the German commanders (though here his grounds are not absolutely convincing) to confirm this view.†

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\**Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 juin

*L'Aveu Allemand.*

†I quote a representative letter dated from Leipzig last December—seven months ago. 'As far as we can judge, things are getting worse and worse for us. But at the Reichstag and in the papers they want to throw dust in the workers' eyes. They say all along that we have sufficient food and that the English cannot starve us. The moneyed people

That persistent offensive failed to secure a decision, or to give the sense of victory, despite the efforts of the Press Bureau to make territorial gains serve instead of the destruction of the French Army. If political motives have begun to affect German strategy, then the sally of the fleet must be connected with the increasing misery in Germany. Those who doubt whether the General Staff allows any but strategical considerations to have weight should ask how far political motives have already determined German military action. What made the Kaiser and Crown Prince talk as if the mere capture of Verdun ('the heart of France'!) would end the war, and why did the attack persist long after the military object had failed? Another question may receive a more certain answer in six or nine months. The Chancellor has time and again pointed to the map of Europe to indicate the German terms of peace. The occupied territory is a pledge they hold and the visible sign of German ascendancy. If, as is contended and as the joint Allied offensive appears to show, it is extremely doubtful whether they are now able to hold such extended lines, then the military situation has been jeopardized in order to keep up political prestige. It is one thing to shorten lines voluntarily, and quite another to do so under the pressure of a strong offensive. In short, a waning military power is tempted more and more to allow political motives to influence strategy. Up to the present on the whole the German people, though suffering, do not seem to doubt that they will succeed. But the insistence upon 'victories' like Verdun and Jutland show that the authorities consider illusion necessary, and such a state of

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may hold out, but the working class is already at the point of starving. . . . Thus we have no more milk, or fat, or butter, we have only had potato bread and not enough of that, and no meat. Two days a week are meatless days when the butchers are closed. . . . I can only tell you it is hard to be in such straits; one can't live and one suffers all along from hunger. . . . There is nothing to do but to keep on starving, and wait till it pleases the *criminals* to make peace. . . . The whole street is full of women in lines, marshalled by police. . . . And when they have waited half-a-day, they can actually get half a pound of fat (at 2m. 25. the pound). That is what is happening in Leipzig. And in the papers you read that we have food! Your father.'

Another from Berlin, 26th Feb.: 'Sometimes one is so downhearted that one would like to commit suicide.'



mind is badly prepared to support the overwhelming surprise of a considerable military defeat.

The naval victory has now been celebrated in the seclusion of Wilhelmshaven; already the Germans have paid the price in ships; they must shortly pay in morale when no relief from the blockade is found to be secured. The immediate naval result appears to be a loss of grip in the Baltic and of course there is an end to hopes in the North Sea. It does not follow that there will not be another great battle. If the Allies look like gaining a military decision, Germany will have to consider whether they can use the Fleet to bargain with or not. It is as certain as anything within man's power can be that Great Britain will consent to no peace till she is in a position to demand the surrender of that Fleet. Otherwise Germany will remain a great naval power and a perpetual menace. Rather than endure such a disgrace a proud people would try to do the utmost damage against their chief enemy. If, then, the war turns strongly against Germany, one sign of their approaching *débauche* would not improbably be the sally of the High Seas Fleet. If, on the other hand, no decision on land is attained and the economic situation is bearable, the Fleet might be of value to bargain with. In the meantime the Austrian fleet may be spurred into action, and it is worth while to watch the renewed agitation for a submarine campaign against everything that floats. A desperate Germany need not care so much for a breach with the United States as the Germany which had her military position still intact. There will always be the temptation to gamble on the uncertainties of a Presidential election, and the probable impending change in the nature of the British blockade may give an excuse for reconsidering the surrender to President Wilson.

The sum of the matter is this, that the world can only regain safety by the defeat of Germany on land, for that alone can destroy her military and naval power. To that end economic pressure is but an important means, and with that end the naval question will be settled too, whether by battle or by treaty. Before this war there was an opinion that military victory was no safeguard, and that opinion is not yet dead. In human affairs there are no absolute safeguards, but this view rests on a mistaken interpretation of history. It is con-

tended that Prussia was crushed at Jena and yet was able to administer a deadly blow to Napoleon at Leipzig seven years later. The fallacy lies in the sense given to 'Prussia' and to the metaphor in 'crushed.' What was crushed at Jena was a professional army resting on Frederickian traditions. Prussia in a sense was saved because her military strength could be destroyed at one blow. But she still had the immense stores of energy which a national army and a national education were to turn to military uses. For the first time she discovered her real military strength when she acted on the principle that every citizen was the natural defender of his country. This was the reason why, in conjunction with Russia and Austria, she was able to defeat a nation wasted by the campaign of Moscow and harassed by the 'Spanish ulcer.' The renascence after Jena affords no just parallel to this war, when every power the nation possesses has been flung into the scale and when defeat will come because those powers have been exhausted. Such exhaustion is not speedily overcome when the war is over. Above all, the defeat of Germany will mean the bankruptcy of an idea which stands or falls with victory or defeat. A spiritual idea may flourish despite political failure, but the military ideal of German Imperialism is success, and depends upon continued success for its justification. It has been sustained by the victories over Denmark, Austria, and France, with the consequent political union and industrial development. If Germany now suffers the most terrible catastrophe any nation has endured, the survivors will be in two minds about the value of aggressive Imperialism. But if the able men now straining every nerve to forestall disaster for Germany by an inconclusive peace were to succeed in their aim, Europe may look for an age of bitter wars. Eduard Meyer, the Berlin historian who is also *persona grata* at Court, has revealed the hope cherished by men at the top. He looks to a peace that will allow Germany to recuperate, and then for a series of short and sharp wars during the next century, at the end of which the British Empire will be at Germany's mercy. Two historical precedents are never far from the German chauvinist's mind. The tempting, though superficial, parallel of Rome and Carthage leads him to believe that our trading Empire will go down under the repeated blows of a



great military nation which took to the sea in order to grapple with our sea power, as Rome made a navy to destroy Carthage. It would be amazing that a considerable historian like Meyer can lend his authority to such a fallacious parallel, if any prostitution of his science by a German intellectual could astonish us longer. The second parallel is the course of German history, where war has won all they have, as they think. The carefully timed wars of 1864-70 give the model which German statesmen had hoped to follow in 1914, and will follow again if they are given the chance. But history shows other examples for the Allies, and the struggle with Napoleon or the war between North and South shed a clear light on the kind of peace which alone secures the future.

#### **The Blockade and German Prices.**

'In the papers you read that we have food,' said the letter of December, 1915, quoted above. To-day the papers, despite the censorship, have a different note. Few things are more striking than the growth of internal wrangling in Germany after the exaltation of the first months of war and the artificial unity that long concealed grave differences of opinion. Berlin claims that Bavaria has too much meat, Württemberg refuses to supply Baden, and the provinces complain that the Central Bureau favours the capital. It is perhaps typical that a police agent who tried to stop a crowd near Berlin from sacking some creameries by declaring that Germans should not fight one another, had to be carried off on a stretcher. The internal situation leading to the present crisis has been as follows: last year the authorities made the most careful arrangements to conserve and distribute supplies, but one after another failed. They found, for example, that it was useless to fix the maximum price of hay at 200 marks in Berlin and 208 at Posen, if Posen supplied Berlin with hay, and the freight was considerably more than the difference between the two rates. Such maximum prices only ensured local famines. The same system caused farmers to hide their stocks. Then when the Government changed its policy and bought up, say, potatoes, it found itself overloaded, for the growers promptly transferred their risk to the state. Then ensued local congestion and great stores of potatoes rotted away. These and other devices failed

not merely because they brought unsuspected motives into play and were wrecked on unforeseen risks, but because they presupposed that the problem was one of distribution, whereas it even then was one of shortage.\* The extension of the rationing system from bread to meat and other necessities simply illustrates the growth of this pressure, and Herr von Batocki's Bureau has been given absolute powers because it is now necessary for the whole community to go short. Again, the meat card represents the maximum that may be bought, not the amount actually available, still less does it follow that families have the money to buy. In this connection I may quote some striking figures which would probably be a considerable underestimate for to-day. 'An enquiry made at Bremen last December by the Trades Syndicate in 787 working class families, shows that one-third of them earn less than six dollars a week, and 130 less than five. It is hardly surprising that fifty or so declare they eat no meat. Of the 735 others who do buy it, this food represents 25c. per head per week; fat (butter and margarine) accounts for 20c. In a family of five persons, the doubling of the price of these two articles alone represents more than \$2.20 a week or a restriction of one half in consumption.'\* Maximum prices are practically not observed. Thus a list of Leipzig prices for February are one-third above the official maximum. When German cheese was put on the list, it disappeared from the stores and only 'imported' cheese was displayed. The steadily growing penalties for trickery of this kind is an index of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of State regulation under conditions verging on famine. Later, it is hoped this column may give some details of Herr von Batocki's *régime*.

Accompanying the rise in prices is a great drop in quality. The character of the potato bread is now well known. Coffee may not be bought unless it is half chicory, and it has been discovered that cigar box wood ground to sawdust make a 'good' mixture with coffee and chicory. Milk, as supplied by the

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\*For details, see the admirable documented study of German food policy in Mr. Hilton's article, *Nineteenth Century*, January. This is perhaps the best informed English survey.

\*Vicomte Georges D'Avenel. *La Vie chère*.



official bureau, is not the article that left the cow. Popular unrest is not diminished by the discovery that the families of officials have direct access to stores of food without the customary formalities. The situation has been summed up by one of the more moderate German journalists in the *Vossische Zeitung*:—

‘We should make ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the world, were we to pretend that we live in plenty as regards raw material and food supplies. It is a matter of course that the English blockade and the pressure exercised by England on neutrals have not been without effect on our provisioning. We are barred in. The people who spy on us from without know it just as well as those who govern us within. . . .

‘People in writing or in speech have addressed sharp but just reproaches to the monopolists, but monopoly is but a symptom of a more deep-seated famine. It is manifest that by degrees the public mind has been invaded by the doubt whether our power of organization, which has proved itself in the army, in the railways, and in the Imperial Bank, is capable of triumphing over all obstacles in other domains. Patriotism and frugality are fine virtues, but men are not wise. Organization serves no purpose if each part of the organization does not tend to one and the same goal. Everybody is organizing by himself and in his own fashion, and instead of arriving at an organized whole simply reaches a state of organized anarchy. In our opinion we are going to the limit with this danger. Therefore we demand the creation of a central office charged with the administration of the country during the war for the whole Empire.’

Herr Bernhardt has got his desire, but the best organization in the world cannot make an insufficient supply adequate. It would be too much to expect an economic breakdown in Germany during the war, but henceforth the machine will move with increasing difficulty and hardship. In the army, poorer soldiers and munitions made with greater strain; behind the front worse-fed workers and increasing anxiety—such is the prospect before Germany at the stage when the Allies have reached their maximum.

### Compulsory Service.

This measure was passed with comparatively slight Parliamentary opposition after a series of alarms and excursions which were not entirely edifying. The immense voluntary effort which had raised our armies did not suffice to keep the

cadres full, and the common sense of the people consented to a measure which was almost unthinkable two years before. The great debate which compulsionists and voluntarists have waged has darkened counsel, for neither side was scrupulous in argument and both erected into principles what were after all matters of expediency. One side concentrated on the illogicality of voluntarism and tended to ignore the magnificent result obtained by Lord Kitchener's call; the other was determined to resist compulsion however clamant the necessity. The military defects of the voluntary system have been in the main two; undoubtedly many men went into the ranks who should have been in the factories, and there were at times difficulties about keeping up reinforcements. How serious the latter shortage was cannot be known till the history of the war is written. The other defect, though actually a result of the voluntary system, could hardly have been avoided on any scheme possible for England. Such a division of labour must be minutely planned long before any war, and no British Government had conceived of the necessity. It is fairly clear that the great need of munition-workers surprised all the Allies, for France was compelled to undertake the same redistribution of men. The moral and political results of the voluntary system can hardly be overstated. While her men offered themselves, England was drawn heart and soul into the war, and the unity of the nation was preserved while she was arming. It is easy to discount the imponderabilia, but in a country with no tradition of universal service a spirit of sullen and obstinate resistance might have been roused by a premature law of national service. That may be regrettable, but it is the business of a statesman to consider such facts and to overcome them with the least possible loss of unity. The war itself was bound to give such an education. For it revealed the need of more men than voluntarism could give, and men who went willingly left behind families who would welcome the application of compulsion to those who did not volunteer. At the last it was clear that no considerable body of opinion would oppose compulsion. True, labour, in some ways the most conservative of all parties, still held to the old principles, but decided not to resist the measure when it had passed. This left individual members of the party free to take their own course, and the Government was able to retain Mr. Henderson and his



two colleagues. The secret session marvellously convinced doubters in the Commons, though some jaundiced journalists took it as another proof that compulsion and Prussianism were synonymous. It was not edifying to see papers, which two years ago would have thought a standing army of a quarter of a million to be a monstrous thing, whittle down the unattested residue to that, and then declare it to be negligible. What would Hindenburg give for that number to-day? But the true spirit of England is not to be found in such recrimination on the public stage. In a place, half town and half suburb, on the outskirts of London a lady whose husband was about to be called out received a visit from an older woman who desired to speak with her privately. She said that the men who were not able to serve felt ashamed that they could do so little while others fought their battle for them, so they had formed a fund on which they hoped the families of men with the colours would draw as they felt the need. All would be done with absolute privacy, and they would feel it a privilege if they could relieve the anxiety of absent husbands in any way. This was a community where none were overburdened with means, and the goodwill and delicacy is typical of the real England.

Recruiting in England will be a wonderful theme for some future historian. Nothing, I imagine, will be so misleading as the printed documents of the time, with their arid and bitter controversies. He will indeed have to record and explain the historical back-ground of those quarrels just as he must place in perspective the strikes and the reluctance of some Unions to relax customs that years of strife had gained for labour. But his main theme must be the effort that recruited by voluntary means an army proportionate to any continental force and organized the munitioning of the British army and navy, and of the Allies, on a scale undreamed of. He will have to tell of villages in Devon or Westmoreland from which all the fit men from squire to labourer had gone, while the women carried on the work. If the Clyde has some turbulent episodes open to reproach, it was the Clyde that sent into the new army more men proportionately than any other area, and the Clyde, he will have to record, was the busiest dockyard and munitioning centre in the three kingdoms. He will give to the Independent Labour Party led by its middle class theorists

its proper insignificant place, and point to the unstinted services rendered to recruiting by the real leaders of labour. Not the least strange chapter will be that recording how the organizers of victory were a soldier whose service abroad had made him almost a stranger to English ways and a Welsh orator whose past hardly inspired the army to confidence. Lord Kitchener had done his task before the Hampshire went down. Like every colossal work, it had its flaws which were visible to men too little to perceive its real magnificence. England was fortunate to possess a man who could carry it through and impress Labour, on whose cooperation he depended, with his singleness of purpose. They knew that he had no theory to exploit, so they trusted him. As someone has said, 'he did not tell them that compulsion would make men of them, for he knew that they were men already.' It was his last reward that they accepted compulsion too, when he told them that it was now necessary.

### Ireland.

Compulsion was not applied to Ireland, but undoubtedly the fear of it was one of the means cunningly used by disloyalists to hamper recruiting and encourage revolt. The disgraceful fiasco of the rebellion was due to a number of causes which are not yet clearly disentangled. At least two separate streams of ideas joined to promote the revolt. There were the idealists, fervid for Irish literature and Irish nationality, and the labour men, who had their centre at Liberty Hall. The first class contained men like McNeill and McDonagh and Pearse, who belonged to the intelligentsia, always a dangerous class in a discontented country. Joined with them were the men who had followed Larkin in the Dublin strikes a few years ago. Theoretically they would rather see a minimum wage of a pound a week than Home Rule, but for practical purposes the discontent of both parties were bent to one object. Both groups hated the Nationalists, who had a constitutional political programme and who were the party of the capitalists. The parting of the ways came with the support given to the war by Mr. Redmond. Thereupon the Irish volunteers split into two camps and those who followed Professor McNeill took the road that was to end in revolt. Could there be in any country



but Ireland three separate armed forces, each with its own objects and none subject to Government? It is unfair to lay the blame unreservedly, as some do, on the Ulster volunteers. There has always been a physical force party in Irish politics. But it is reasonable to say that the example set by Ulster gave them the excuse they desired. If loyalists could import arms from Hamburg and march armed through Belfast, could not they do as much, and why should they, who owed no loyalty to England, not seek help from England's enemy?\*

The course the Government took gave them every chance. It was probably the right course to leave the arming of Ulster alone, otherwise civil disturbances might have disabled us at the opening of the war. But henceforth the Irish Secretary was hampered by the bugbear of consistency. The attempt of the Scottish Borderers in July, 1914, to stop gunrunning near Dublin caused the bitterest resentment in the South. Mr. Birrell then allowed things to drift to catastrophe. It is evident that warnings were plentiful and detailed. There is some ground for believing that Irish-American societies had for once plenty of money to spend, and the cargo of German munitions which was captured proves the complicity of the enemy. From first to last it is a tale of self-deception and dupery. The German munitions were obsolete Russian rifles, and it seems to be proved that many of the rebels thought they were going to join another theatrical parade till they found themselves in the thick of fighting, though, once committed, they showed no lack of courage. Some seem to have believed that 250,000 Germans had landed, and it is likely that the Irish-American tale about German submarines patrolling the St. George's Channel had currency in Dublin too. But the absolute cessation of all communications was certain to give rise to the wildest tales.

It is useless to repeat the story of the week's terror in Dublin or of the anxiety and expectancy over the South and

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\*Some anti-recruiting writings were peculiarly disgraceful. One pictured a German mother met at the gate of heaven by her soldier sons, while an Irish mother was told by St. Peter that she must not look for her sons there, because they had fought in a bad cause. It is fair to mention that up to March last year Ireland had recruited 97,000, while the United Irish League of Great Britain had 115,000 enlisted by February of the same year.

West. The moral of the wretched outbreak is that Ireland cannot be governed from across the channel with success. The Government showed weakness indeed, but its inherent character added to that weakness. How could it claim moral authority over people whom it did not represent and who denied its rights? Paradoxically enough, the Ulster movement only brings into relief that fundamental difficulty of ruling Ireland without the full consent of the Irish. The Irish office in London is a symbol of the situation. It is only a private house with a skeleton staff who are present while Parliament sits. Its life is in the private wire to Dublin Castle. Thanks to the patriotism of Ulster and of the Nationalists the experiment of self-government will now be made, and made in a form that does not preclude a wider organization within the Empire after the war.

A. S. F.

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CANADA.

**The Approaching Retirement of Principal Gordon.**

It was with deep regret that not only the graduates and immediate friends of Queen's but the general public learned this spring that Principal Gordon had decided to resign his post, on account of ill-health aggravated by unremitting attention to his many tasks. Principal Gordon has been the head and the soul of Queen's for fourteen years. They have been years of difficulties, of constant facing of new problems, but years also of continued achievement, of successful grappling with each problem as it arose. Under Dr. Gordon the University has grown rapidly to meet the needs of a growing land, multiplying staff and students, buildings and equipment, influence and service. The friendly severing of the formal ties between the University and the Presbyterian Church, the establishment of the Theological College as an independent affiliated body, the founding of the Faculty of Education and the incorporation of the Faculties of Medicine and of Applied Science as integral parts of the University, are only the more notable incidents in a record of constant progress.



Fitting expression of the gratitude of Queen's for the services that Principal Gordon has so freely given her will be made by the University authorities in due time. Meanwhile a chronicler may record the recognition found on every hand of the ripe scholarship and stalwart manliness and dignity, the broad sympathies and unfailing tact, the unquenchable optimism, the deep-felt patriotism which found manifestation alike in 1885 and in 1914, the power always to speak the fitting word, that have made Daniel Miner Gordon a name that will live long in Canada. It is hoped that when the time comes to give up the duties of the principalship—Dr. Gordon has consented to hold the post for a time—his counsel and services will long be available in other capacities for the institution he has done so much to mould and which has become a part of his life.

### Canada and the War.

In Canada's share in the war, the outstanding feature of the quarter has been the heavy fighting in the Ypres district. As had happened in the struggle at Langemarck and St. Julien a little more than a year before, it was against the Canadian section of the British lines that the most aggressive German offensive of the spring was launched. At the beginning of June, a concentrated bombardment, the heaviest to which the Canadian trenches had been subjected, prepared the ground for an overwhelming infantry attack which enabled the enemy to penetrate our lines some half mile toward Zillebeck. Ten days later, gallant counter attacks drove them out of practically the whole of the disputed ground, and though the position is a hard one to defend, the gains made appear to have been fully consolidated. Canada has reason to be proud of her sons, native-born and adopted alike, but the pride is tempered with sorrow for the thousands of splendid men whose names have filled page after page of casualty lists in our newspapers throughout the month of June. Canadian casualties for this month exceeded ten thousand, two thirds of Wellington's losses at Waterloo, and brought the total up to a figure equal to the numbers of the whole first contingent.

At home, the chief military development has been the slackening of recruiting and a corresponding demand for conscription or registration. A total enlistment of 350,000 had

been reached by the end of June, and men were still coming forward at the rate of about 12,000 a month. Compared with what the most optimistic would have prophesied before the war, these figures are remarkably high. Compared with the figure of 500,000 men set by Sir Robert Borden as Canada's contribution, and with the rate of enlistment at an earlier stage, a thousand men a day, they are pronounced disappointing. The slackening is entirely as to the rank and file; in June it was announced from Ottawa that there was a surplus of 3,700 duly qualified officers for whom no posts had yet been found.

It is clear that from now onward, barring some dramatic stimulus, enlistment will be slower than in the first two years of the war. What is the reason? The general and obvious reasons are that the more eager or foot-loose men go first, and that there is a limit, though one that has not yet been reached here, to the number of men any country can spare. Assuming, however, that the tentative figure set by the premier, half a million men, was a reasonable one, and that this figure is not being reached as rapidly as the government anticipated—a point on which there has been no official statement—what special reasons are there for the slowing up? The one most commonly stressed is—Quebec. But there is another—the \$2,000,000,000 output of Canadian factories and the \$800,000,000 or \$900,000,000 of Canadian exports.

To take the latter point first. The industrial activity of the Dominion exceeds all prophecies. Never before were the factories of Canada so busy. Almost every available plant is actively employed, night shifts are busy, and still there is no catching up with orders. It is estimated that as many men are employed on munitions and other war supplies as have joined the colours. The result is that the manufacturing output for the year 1916 is set by competent authority at over \$2,000,000,000, contrasted with an output of \$1,164,000,000 in the census year 1910. Perhaps half the increase is merely nominal, due to higher prices, but the other half is a gain in quantity.

The same conditions are reflected in the trade returns, which reveal exports of Canadian produce soaring to heights never before obtained:



## Exports of Canadian Produce.

(in millions of dollars).

	1914		1916	
	12 mos.end.	4 mos. end.	12 mos. end.	4 mos. end.
	April, 1914	April, 1914	April, 1916	April, 1916
Produce of the Mine .....	59	17.5	67	21.3
Produce of Fisheries ....	21	5.1	23	7.0
Produce of Forest .....	43	8.8	52	11.3
Animal Products .....	53	10.6	105	24.6
Agricultural Products ...	193	27.0	264	68.4
Manufacturing Products .	58	20.0	250	144.2
Miscellaneous Products ...	..	....	7	3.2
	427	89	768	280

If the present tendencies continue, Canada will this calendar year export more products of the factory than products of the farm. In spite of the strain of bearing a great part in a great war, the Dominion has advanced in war-time from 13th place to 6th or 7th among the exporting nations of the world. But it was not possible to attain this development and at the same time to continue to spare, from the districts which had hitherto contributed most largely, a thousand men a day for enlistment.

The other reason given is that some of the provinces have not contributed the quota expected of them. The western provinces, as a whole, have exceeded their mark while Ontario has given three-fourths of her quota; the Maritime provinces have given half and Quebec one quarter the numbers assigned. The figures have been analysed from other points of view. The proportion of the British-born inhabitants who have enlisted is shown to be as four or five to one compared to the proportion of native-born inhabitants. A speaker at a recent Methodist Conference declared that the proportion of Anglicans enlisting in an Ontario district was several times greater than that of Methodists. It might be of some interest to have comparative statistics of Presbyterians and Christian Scientists, red-haired men and black-haired, tall men and short, 'sports' and Sunday School superintendents, and other classifications, but as yet no industrious statistician has dug them out.

It is unreasonable to expect the same proportion of the population of every province to enlist. Enlistment varies not-

ably with age and sex distribution, with industrial conditions, and with interest in the war and in the causes for which it is being fought. The fact, for example, that the British-born section of our population contributed much more than their proportionate share reflects the greater interest felt in the war, due to past military experience, to vivid home memories and sympathies, to stories that come of Zeppelin raids in their native country or of the enlistment of one-time chums overseas. It reflects also the facts that a greater proportion of the newcomers than of the native-born were men of military age, town-dwellers, and casual laborers. The fact, again, of the unequal enlistment from different sections of the country is due in part to the varying proportions of city-dwellers and of men of military age in the total population. As to the latter point, Quebec has 28% of the whole population of the Dominion, and is expected by the Militia Department to contribute 28% of the recruits, whereas she has only 23% of the men of military age. The Maritime provinces have about 57% as large a population as the four western provinces, and have been assigned 57% as large a quota, whereas they have only 30% as many men of military age.

In the Maritime Provinces and Quebec there is a much smaller proportion of British-born citizens than in Ontario and the West, a smaller proportion of city dwellers, and a much smaller proportion of men of military age. All of these facts have had important bearing on enlistment. After making allowance for these facts, however, it remains clear that the native-born of Quebec have contributed a much smaller share than the native-born of the rest of Canada. That this should be so in some measure is not surprising. There is not in Quebec the racial sympathy, the personal relations with the United Kingdom which have counted so largely in taking tens of thousands from the English-speaking provinces overseas. Quebec has always boasted of its loyalty to the British crown, but its loyalty has been passive, has had a larger share, or rather a more enduring share, of colonialism, of the acquiescence in having an outside power control the diplomacy and do the fighting, which were the natural fruits, the other side, of the one-time claim of the mother country to own and dominate the overseas 'possessions'. Only as it is made clear that



the Empire begins at home, that Canada is as much a part of it and on the same footing as the United Kingdom, and that the Empire is not more the heritage of English in England or New Zealand than of French in Quebec and Dutch in South Africa, can there be full co-operation and complete accord.

But, it is urged, if racial sympathy with the United Kingdom does not stimulate the habitant, why does not racial sympathy with France stir him, France that never needed help more and never better deserved it by its gallant unwavering courage? The fact is that with France also there is less active sympathy than racial origin alone would indicate. The tie has been broken for over a century and a half, and there has been practically no immigration from France since that time to quicken and renew old sympathies. After the conquest, the British authorities discouraged intercourse; even less than twenty years ago, when Fashoda had brought France and Britain to the brink of hostilities, and a group in England was speaking of age-long rivalries and inevitable war, the sympathy that is now demanded would have been found very inconvenient. The Catholic Church, too, has of late years endeavored to set up barriers between Quebec and France, now that France has ceased to be the faithful daughter of the church and has become the chief seat of contagious heresy and of anti-clerical aggression. Incidentally, the action of the French government in breaking up the Congregations sent thousands of monks and nuns across the sea to Quebec, where they have strengthened the already dominant ultramontanist and alienated sympathy from the land that drove them forth. When the war broke out in 1914, and when for a time the Germans seemed to be carrying all before them, there were ecclesiastical circles in Quebec where it was felt that this was a righteous judgment of Heaven upon infidel France. (This was not an attitude wholly confined to Catholic divines; Protestant preachers have been heard to find in the same early defeats evidence of the wrath and vengeance of God upon a godless state—the assumption apparently being that the overrunning of ultra-clerical Belgium was an oversight on the part of Providence, and that the then victorious Prussian was marked out as the ideal God-fearing son of heaven).

Quebec, then, is neither British nor French. Well and good, if it were Canadian, but unfortunately a large number of

its people prefer to be merely 'Canadien'. Claiming to be Nationalists, they are essentially Provincialists. In addition to the factors already considered, the dominance of farming, the small proportion of British-born settlers, the lack of racial sympathy with Britain and of intimate ties with France, weight must be given to the open anti-recruiting campaign of Mr. Bourassa and his lieutenants. There is no question that their influence has been widespread. Mr. Bourassa defends his attitude on various grounds. He has picked flaws in the past diplomacy and political ethics of Britain and her allies; with truth, sometimes, but not with proportion nor with pertinence; the world is not made up of blacks and whites, and righteousness is only relative, but here and now no man with unwarped vision can question on which side lies honor and freedom and democracy. He has urged that Canada had no part in the foreign policy which preceded the war and therefore should take no part in dealing with the consequences; unfortunately, as Belgium witnesses, there is often little relation between danger and responsibility for danger; a mad dog does not bite merely those who may have had to do with it. After the war the question of control of foreign policy, or rather the extension of our existing share of control will have to be faced, whether on the lines of imperial federation, which Mr. Bourassa declares better than the present situation, or along the lines of national co-operation upon which advance has steadily been made in the past. But that is to-morrow's task, not to-day's. Another reason, or excuse, is found in the alleged persecution of French-Canadians in Ontario; an assertion wildly exaggerated, and hardly pertinent, if true. It points, however, to the real underlying reason, the exaggerated sense of provincial and racial separateness, the desire to keep Quebec apart and exclusive. There are elements in Nationalism which deserve sympathy and support—the insistence upon facing frankly our future imperial relations, the emphasis upon Canadian interests, the demand for a recognition of the right of French-Canadians to take a full and equal share in shaping the country's policy. But there are also elements full of danger to national unity and achievement—the failure to recognize our present imperial and international responsibilities, the unjustified suspicion of the aggressive designs of English-speaking Canadians, and the ultramontanist which desires to keep the



French-Canadians a race apart to avert the danger of heretical contamination. It is not without significance that Oliver Asselin, a fervent nationalist but liberal Catholic, is raising a battalion, while ultramontane clergy are foremost among Mr. Bourassa's supporters.

In face of the continuing demand for men, the cry for conscription or for registration as a half-way house has gained some force, but has not yet moved the government to abandon the voluntary system. The growth of conscriptionist sentiment is not surprising. The example of Great Britain has counted. The voluntary system is held to be wasteful of time, undignified, leading automatically to the selecting of men who can least be spared. Its very success in the past tells against it; the more numerous the families who have men at the front, the greater become the number who feel resentment that their neighbors are exempt from the risk and sacrifice they are bearing. Many manufacturers favour it in a negative way, believing that under conscription their men would be definitely exempted as performing necessary work and the recruiting sergeant turned to other quarters. Many of those who have done the best work as recruiters and are therefore best entitled to a voice in the matter, are strongest in their condemnation of voluntary methods.

It would take stronger arguments than these to justify fighting the devil with fire. The voluntary system has not failed. Doubtless there has been much waste, confusion, dislocation of industry, but it is hardly possible to take a part in the greatest war of all time without suffering some inconveniences; the greater part of the ills complained of are due to the fact that we are at war, not to the fact that we are relying upon the voluntary system to supply the men. The figures of trade and industry cited above show that the country has now in large part readjusted itself to the new order. Equal sacrifice is an impossible ideal: there can be no equality of sacrifice between the man who gives his life in the trenches and the man who makes the highest wages of his career because of the accident of belonging to an exempted war-industry. More pertinent than the example of Great Britain is the example of the other Dominions; South Africa, and even Australia and New Zealand with their homogeneous population have continued to rely upon voluntary enlistment for oversea service. In a dem-

ocratic country conscription is not possible unless the demand for it is almost unanimous—and therefore the less necessary; in Great Britain it was not brought in until 5,000,000 men had been recruited without it, and only a few hundred thousand remained to be pressed. In Canada its advocates are probably in a minority in the English-speaking provinces, while Quebec would be overwhelmingly adverse. The talk of conscription turns attention solely to the question of numbers, to the neglect of the questions of organization, of the best utilization of the men already secured. It cannot be said that it is beyond the power and right of the state which makes all pay to make all fight, nor that individual liberty should not be sacrificed if necessary to preserve national liberty. Yet so great is the danger of giving governments power to send millions to battle by compulsion, so great the need of compelling them to have a cause that will appeal to the honor and the zeal of the mass of men, so vital to the working of democracy is the habit of self-determination, so contagious is the Prussian spirit of ruthless oppression of all individual liberties, that this sacrifice of the principle which has been the glory and justification of the British people in this war should be made only as a last resort.

There has been some talk of 'registration', a term not clearly defined. It involves a census of the whole available population, which might be used either as the basis for conscription or as an aid to voluntary recruiting. If designed as a means of bringing the canvass home to every man more systematically and thoroughly than has yet been possible, and of making every man face squarely the question of his personal duty, there is much to be said for it, though the experience of New Zealand with 'Registration' of this sort, as summarized in the current *Round Table*, does not justify great expectations. It is not likely that it would add greatly to the knowledge of the general situation already possessed, or reveal any large reservoirs of available men not yet being tapped. Perhaps what is most needed is more systematic organization. Recruiting has been left too much to local effort, and officers compelled to bear financial burdens which, while infinitesimal as compared to the country's total war expenditure, are heavy loads for individuals. The competitive features in the recruiting methods of the past have doubtless played their part in the great measure of success attained, but they are losing their value.



The government has been roundly condemned for lack of initiative and aggressive leadership in the war. One prominent journal admits that General Hughes has shown vigour if not discretion, and that Sir Thomas White and Sir George Foster have risen to their opportunities, but condemns the ministry as a whole for not giving the country a lead. On the other hand, the Opposition has been denounced for putting heart into nothing but partisan charges of corruption calculated to embarrass the administration at a critical stage. Neither criticism appears to be justified. The achievement of raising and training an army of 350,000 men, and of financing the war and general expenditures, is a great one, and after making due allowance for the part played by unofficial leaders, the government is justly entitled to a feeling of pride in its work. The Opposition has sanctioned every war measure proposed by the Government, if anything too uncritically, and if in some instances the exposing of graft appears to have been animated as much by the desire to score against the government as to serve the country, the work of exposure badly needed doing and party motives making for investigation must be relied on to balance party motives making for concealment.

Yet there remains a feeling that Canada's part in the war has not been as aggressive as might have been wished. In view of the undoubted magnitude of the country's achievement, is this anything more than a half-recognized dissatisfaction with the secondary position held by Canada and the other Dominions? Our policy and action have filtered through the British authorities; our decisions come at second-hand. It would have helped to make Canadians feel that they were taking a full and equal place in the war, and to bring the increased effort that direct responsibility entails, had Canada been more directly represented both in the council chamber and in the field. It surely would be possible to find a Canadian general qualified to take charge of the Canadian troops in the field, in concert with his British and French superiors,—South Africa did not hesitate long in insisting that its lawyer-general be given charge in German East Africa—and to establish a Canadian aviation service. We owe thanks to Premier Hughes—whether we agree or disagree with his specific proposals—that Canada and Australia have taken their place in

the council of the Allies at Paris. The movement is in the right direction; the increased control which the Dominions will insist upon after the war will come better by the representation of the Dominion governments in common councils, in the councils of the Five Nations—and India to come—of the British Empire, in the councils of the Allies, than by the establishment of the new parliament proposed by imperial federalists, wherein Canada would have in the proportion of eight out of sixty members, and would lose the wide measure of independent control of foreign affairs slowly acquired in the past half century.

### **Governments and Majorities.**

The recent elections in Quebec and Nova Scotia have resulted in the return of the existing governments with overwhelming majorities, due, apparently, to good administrative records. It is striking how overwhelming the victories of most provincial administrations have been of late years. In British Columbia and in New Brunswick the Opposition has numbered only one or two members; in Manitoba at the last election the Opposition was reduced to five, and in Ontario and Saskatchewan the disparity has been almost as great.

Such overwhelming legislative majorities do not reflect in any case the division of opinion among the electors, and are a source of danger to the working of parliamentary institutions. It is probable that every Canadian government has started out with good intentions honestly desiring to give good and progressive administration. But good intentions wither and temptations multiply. The best of ministries will be the better for vigilant and constant criticism. A strong, effective, responsible Opposition is as essential a part of the machinery of British parliamentary government as a strong, effective, responsible cabinet. It is true, a small and precarious majority, putting the government at the mercy of two or three of the least reputable of its followers, may also prove a danger, but in the actual experience of Canada it has been a much less frequent danger. The present situation increases the tendency to make the cabinet ministers dictators, and so lessens the power, opportunity and interest of the ordinary member.

The situation is one which calls for seriously considering the adoption of proportional representation, say, in the form



which would abolish the single-member constituency in favour of constituencies returning eight or ten members, divided in proportion to the vote recorded. Such a system might increase the difficulty of campaigning in thinly-settled districts; possibly the outlying areas might be left on the single-member basis for a time. It might result, also, in multiplying groups representing special interests in a way that many would consider undesirable. It would give a legislature reflecting more adequately the views of the country, and, as a rule, an Opposition stronger for its task. Incidentally, it would lessen the tendency to electoral corruption, since the purchasable voter, who can often turn the scale in the single-member constituency, is of far less weight in the multiple-member constituency. The question is one of the many which will call for practical discussion after the war.

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#### UNITED STATES.

##### **Presidents and Preparedness.**

After somewhat more than the usual preliminary jockeying, the United States presidential race has begun. Of Wilson's renomination by the Democrats there was no question from the beginning. The interest centred on the relations between Republicans and Progressives. As a result of the contest which culminated in Chicago in June, the Progressive party has ceased to exist. It had degenerated from a party of principles, crusading for a better social order for the average man, into a blind follower of Roosevelt, and after Roosevelt had failed in his attempt to revive it sufficiently and only sufficiently to bludgeon the Republicans into giving him their nomination as the price of harmony, it met its inevitable fate. "Four years ago," declared one Progressive, "Roosevelt vowed to lead us on to Armageddon; this year he led us to the auction-block." The Republican bosses had to bow to the popular will in naming Hughes, but at least they did name the candidate, and they possess full control once more of the only party organization seriously opposed to the Democrats. The Socialists will run a candidate, Benson, but will probably not poll a large vote in a year of prosperity and of preoccupation with foreign affairs. The struggle is a straight two-man fight.

Both candidates are men of strong personality and outstanding ability. It was a tribute to the impression Hughes had made upon his fellow citizens in his brief career as governor of New York that without any organized effort and without a word from himself the demand for his candidacy grew so strong as to be irresistible. He is known as a man of fearless integrity and unquestioned force, not so dynamic of course as Roosevelt, but more red-blooded than his present rival. Wilson has developed in unexpected ways. It might have been anticipated that he would show himself a doctrinaire; instead, he has been the most flexible of opportunists. He has shown strength chiefly where he might have been expected to show weakness—as a party leader. As a result of his three years tenure of office, the Democratic party is more united than it has ever been, and Wilson exercises more undisputed leadership than any Democratic president ever before achieved.

On domestic issues, Hughes will doubtless be a Republican of a Progressive tinge. His party is committed to no emphatic domestic policy, except on the tariff where its success would probably lead to a slight increase of rates. On such issues, Wilson occupies a very strong position. His achievement in bringing about a close connection between the executive and the legislature, one point in which his early conviction of the superiority of the British cabinet system to the American insistence upon separation of powers has borne fruit, is one of the most important developments in his country's political life. The reform of the banking system, the revision of the tariff and the establishment of the federal trade commission, if not on lines wholly consistent with Democratic doctrines, are notable performances, and their success is due in great part to his insistent guiding hand. He has shown more readiness to compromise with the boss element than would have been expected, and several of his appointments are open to serious criticism—part of the price paid for party unity.

It is, however, foreign rather than domestic issues which are burning. Here Hughes possesses the advantage of a blank record; he has done nothing and said nothing that could awaken antagonism in any quarter. Whether he will be able to continue his non-committal attitude, his platform of "one hundred per cent Americanism," of "a strong and just foreign



policy," and other equally well-sounding platitudes, is doubtful. It would be an acrobatic feat of no mean order to unite against Wilson the German-American vote and the strong pro-Ally vote; but extremes have met before this.

Wilson has faced the most serious foreign situation with which any United States president has been called upon to deal. It was a situation in which the man best fitted by temperament and training could not have avoided rousing antagonism in some parts of the country, and Wilson has faults of both temperament and training which have hampered him. If he has not met it adequately at every point, his countrymen have only to reflect what would have been their fate had Bryan or Champ Clark been elected in his stead.

In the first important issue that arose, the Panama Tolls affair, Wilson took a position that won and entitled him to high praise. It needed rare political courage, rare in any nation's annals, to avow that one's country had been in the wrong, to face a Congress and a party officially committed to maintaining the existing policy and to urge them to reverse their attitude.

The Mexican policy has been less happy. But here only a choice of evils was possible. Wilson has kept three chief ends in view—the desirability of avoiding war with Mexico, the strengthening of Pan-American sympathy, and the triumph of the faction in Mexico which seemed most likely to ensure a lasting peace, because a peace founded on the recognition of the rights and needs of the oppressed peon. He was not consistent in maintaining those aims, and his haste to intervene at Vera Cruz and his tardiness in intervening against Villa exposed him to ready criticism. Yet his aims were broadly justifiable, and he showed strength in adhering to them, on the whole, in face of heavy pressure,—German intrigue, the hunger of American concessionaires, the demand of the Catholic Church for vengeance on the anti-clerical Carranza and Villa parties, and the natural anger of his countrymen against the continued sacrifice of American lives. At the end of June the success of his policy trembled in the balance, and it appeared doubtful whether it would be possible to avoid intervention much longer.

But it was the European war that brought the hardest tasks and the most biting criticism. Wilson has been condemned alike by Ally sympathizers, by ultra patriots, and by German-Americans. Yet on the whole his policy, whether suiting Canadians or not, appears to have suited the majority of his countrymen. They wished Germany brought to account but if possible without war. Ally sympathizers attacked him because he did not intervene on behalf of Belgium, or in defence of the wider interests of democracy at stake. It does not appear that such a policy was called for by the people, and though Mr. Roosevelt has since denounced him for not intervening or protesting when Belgium was invaded, at the time and for weeks afterwards that same extraordinary personage was declaring intervention impossible. Republicans and ultra-patriots of all brands have attacked him because too lax and dilatory in his dealings with Germany when direct American interests were involved, in the *Lusitania* and later affairs. This is a vulnerable point, though his final success in forcing from Germany a reversal of its submarine tactics will go far to justify him—if only it stays ‘final’. The pro-Germans criticise what they term his extreme pro-Ally sympathy, his refusal to interfere with the export of munitions, and his insistence on limiting the submarine campaign. On the whole, barring the possibility of intervention in the war, what the Allies have to complain of in the official attitude of the United States, has been more some too coldly neutral speeches, officiously equal in their distribution of blame, than the actual course or results of the president’s actions.

So far as the fortunes of the present war are concerned, the outcome of the elections seems of little import to the Allies. No matter who wins in November, Wilson will hold office until next March. Assuming that Hughes disavows the alliance which the German-Americans have insolently thrust upon him, it will not greatly matter which of the two men is in the White House after that time. But what of the future? What is the significance of the preparedness movement which is the main issue in the campaign?

The United States is potentially a great military power. Actually, its navy has of late years been strong, and, thanks to the Battle of Jutland, is now easily the second strongest.



Its regular army, however, has been small, and its militia far from effective. Now the demand has been raised for a great extension of both land and sea defences. It comes from disinterested patriots anxious for their country's safety, and eager that it should take its part in righting the world's wrongs, from investors in munition plants which are finding their markets failing—one munitions company is openly financing a moving picture campaign which is making a crude appeal to popular emotion—, from all the forces of predatory wealth which want the public attention diverted from social reform and think discipline good for the lower classes, and from party organs which see a good opportunity to float the Republicans back into office on a wave of jingoism. It is interesting to note that in New York one week this spring 125,000 men marched in a parade to demand 'preparedness'; the next week an appeal for recruits for the United States army, in the same city, secured 64 men. Evidently the bulk of the preparedness advocates are ready to let some one else bleed for their country.

Allowing for the partisan exaggeration of existing weaknesses, there is no question of the fact of 'unpreparedness' in some respects. What is the source? The pacifists are responsible, is the orthodox cry. No doubt there are many in the United States who have taken the Gospel literally, or been selfishly absorbed in their own petty cares, or been provincially ignorant of the facts of world rivalry, and have stood in the way of more adequate military preparation. Yet even so the military expenditures of the United States have soared as fast as those of any other state; over seventy per cent. of the revenue of the United States is spent in paying interest on past wars or preparing for future wars, and still the modest militarist declares that 'nothing has been done.'

A second source of unpreparedness, less stressed by the advocates of limitless expenditure, is the failure of the politicians and the military experts to make the best use of the millions lavishly provided. 'Unpreparedness' may result from the failure of those who have the direction of the country's military affairs to foresee the importance of trench warfare, or the value of heavy guns in field operations, or the relative importance of shrapnel and high explosives, and to

make fitting provision accordingly. In France, for example, the military authorities before the war declined to utilize a vote offered by the Chamber for heavy guns. Or, 'unpreparedness' may result from the efforts of politicians to turn every national need to their local gain, to levy contributions for the 'pork-barrel'. In the United States, Mr. Villard has scathingly analysed the misdirection of funds and energy by those who have had the spending of the millions in the past and would seek the spending of the billions in the future. Or, 'unpreparedness' in military affairs may simply be one phase of a wider slackness, of a general lack of organization, of foresight, of economy and thrift, of scientific thoroughness. In this respect we have all been sinners, though at present the tendency is to exaggerate too much the virtues of centralized direction, and to underrate the tremendous driving power of individual initiative.

But the cause of unpreparedness lies deeper still. From the very nature of things, 'unpreparedness' is unavoidable so long as the present system of national rivalry persists. Greater even than the folly of the ultra-pacifist who thinks that a nation may safely go unarmed is the folly of the militarist who declares that the one way to avert danger is make oneself stronger than the enemy, by one's own force or by alliance. It hardly needs arguing that it is impossible for every nation or every group to be stronger than every other, and yet this endeavor is the wisdom which statesmen have preached and practiced. In each country the answer is made, well, let us see that if one must be stronger we will be that one, calmly ignoring the fact that in other countries the same answer is being preached. Alike in France and Britain and Russia, and in Germany and Austria the cry is now raised that had only they been better 'prepared' they could have intimidated their enemies from going to war or crushed them at a blow. Had only this or that been done—more submarines built, or universal military service established, or a year's additional service required, or what not,—'we' should have been supreme—as if alliances were stable, as if there had not been countless shifts of friendship in the past twenty years, as if Potsdam conversations and Caillaux negotiations had not threatened more shifts, as if almost any power



could not seek to avert danger from an overwhelming rival by patching up its differences with a less dangerous foe and thus tilting the scales the other way again. So long as nations continue the rivalry which has ended in the present catastrophe, no matter what desperate sacrifices are made, so long will some awake to find themselves 'unprepared.'

When, therefore, people speak of the Allies having been 'unprepared', while Germany was preparing the blow for forty years, it is advisable to discriminate a little. If it is meant that in Germany war was more glorified, was kept before the public mind as a normal instrument of policy, and that a military caste dominated the nation's will, true, but there are few who will avow that such is the kind of preparedness that is wanted elsewhere. If it is meant that no adequate military preparations were made because of pacifist opposition, it is sufficient to recall once more the plain fact that whatever pacifists did or did not do, the nations went on arming ever more feverishly, and that whether in the forty years or the ten years preceding the struggle the Allies spent on naval and military preparations much more than two dollars for every one spent by Germany and her confederates. Whether such unpreparedness as existed was due to pacifist blindness, or to politicians' incompetency or corruption, or to the lack of foresight of military experts, or to general national slackness, or whether it was due to the impossibility of each being stronger than every other, is a more difficult question to answer than many have assumed.

Is there no way out? If turning the other cheek and arming to the teeth alike lead to catastrophe, is the world doomed to a series of explosions such as the present? General Exhaustion may do much to compel peace for a time. The emphatic defeat of the Germanic powers will overthrow the prestige of militarism and military castes. Something may be done to cure the evil at its roots, to allay racial bitterness by federal compromise or more generous toleration on a majority's part, to lessen economic rivalry by attacking the illusions of protectionism or exposing the pretensions of the small fraction of a nation's capital devoted to the exploitation of the backward lands which have been such a fertile source of greed and strife. Revolutions from within may lessen the power of

Kaisers and Courts for harm. Yet the struggle will be slow; national rivalries will long continue. Can any barrier be built to prevent them breaking into open strife? Has the United States, as the chief neutral power, any lesson to offer from the war? It is Wilson's merit that he has, after much fumbling, seen that no one nation and no group can adequately 'prepare', and that the machinery of peace enforcement must be world wide.

The question is not a new one. In England half a century ago the three chief answers were made by Palmerston, Bright and Gladstone. Palmerston, of Rooseveltian ancestry, strenuous in upholding his country's rights, and equally strenuous in defending her wrongs, delighted in intervening in the world's affairs, whether to champion the cause of a distressed small nation or liberty-seeking faction, or to compel some other weak nation to submit to opium infamies or Don Pacifico bluster. Bright, the pacifist, went to the other extreme in reaction from Palmerston's policy, declaring for non-intervention, urging that England was not called upon either to act as universal knight-errant or to bully weak powers to gain prestige. Gladstone, in the Denmark issue, put forward a middle course, insisting that intervention was sometimes called for, but that where possible it should be the intervention of a concert of powers, not of a single state.

To-day in the United States the same positions are taken. There are those who would intervene in every case where there is a wrong to be righted or prestige endangered. There are others, in far greater number, who have followed Washington's advice to avoid foreign entanglements, and have insisted that America bounds the horizon. Latterly many have come to see both that the United States cannot hold itself aloof, that it must take its responsibility and its share in world politics, and also that single-handed action will not prove effective. The League to Enforce Peace is one notable expression of this feeling, and President Wilson's recent announcement of his adherence to its views marks an important step toward better international relations.

Early in the war, and occasionally still in remote quarters, the charge was made that by signing the Hague Conventions the United States had undertaken to enforce them, and that in



failing to intervene when Germany broke one recognized rule of warfare after another it had proved recreant to its pledge. This criticism was based on a complete misunderstanding of the character of international law and the various codes in which its rules were systematized. In accepting such rules each nation merely undertook to observe them itself, and incurred no obligation to compel any other state to do so. This was, in fact, the weakness of international law, the reason why many authorities denied it a right to the term law, in the absence of a definite law-giver and of a court of enforcement. Baseless as was the criticism, so far as past practice and theory had gone, so far as legal obligation was concerned, it foreshadowed the development of a higher doctrine, the taking of a step in advance, an attempt to grapple with the great weakness of international law. Judged by the aspirations and standards of the future, the United States was at fault.

There are leagues less than world wide in scope which aim to secure peace. The British Empire is in one aspect, such a league. The present Alliance against the Germanic powers is such a league. The Pan-American union toward which Wilson for a time seemed to lean is a looser league of the same kind. Each has its value, its essential service, but no loose alliance that is partial can be either stable or certain to attain this end. Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey have repeatedly, in sincere and eloquent words, voiced their aspiration for some international concert that would give each power assurance against wanton attack or aid if so attacked. Sir George Foster recently urged the same ideal. President Wilson's adherence makes it clear that the whole world is feeling the need of a drastic solution. It is true that it will be no easy task to convert the United States from its traditional policy of isolated self-sufficiency, and one might question whether if it did not intervene in the present war there was much likelihood of its joining to bring economic or military pressure against some possibly less flagrant offender? But the goal is in sight, and the policy is now in practical politics. One thing is certain, the world, burdened by intolerable debt, saddened by memories of tremendous sacrifice, will not long tolerate from its statesmen as their sole answer, the futile advice, avert war by outarming your neighbor. For the present, the greatest

step toward lasting peace will be the complete victory of the Allies. For the immediate future, it will not be possible for any state to abandon or greatly reduce its armaments. But in the breathing-spell after the war, it will at last be the main business of the world, in peace to prepare for peace.

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## CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
HISTORY AS A GUIDE TO THE PRESENT .....	153
<i>E. F. SCOTT.</i>	
CANADIAN FOREST AND FOREST FIRES .....	168
<i>W. L. GOODWIN.</i>	
THE NEW SARTOR .....	168
<i>W. M. C.</i>	
BERGSON'S THEORY OF INTELLECT AND REALITY . . . . .	177
<i>NORMAN J. SYMONS.</i>	
SONNET—The Mystic . . . . .	192
<i>A. BEATRICE HICKSON.</i>	
THE ONTARIO GRAMMAR SCHOOLS .....	193
<i>W. E. MACPHERSON.</i>	
THE BEGINNING OF MELODRAMA .....	215
<i>W. E. McNEILL.</i>	
THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIA .....	228
<i>L. P. CHAMBERS.</i>	
CURRENT EVENTS . . . . .	236
Europe; Canada; United States.	<i>A. S. FERGUSON.</i>

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## HISTORY AS A GUIDE TO THE PRESENT.

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THE war now raging, as we can see clearly enough already, will determine the whole history of the future, and it is only fitting that it should link itself in so many ways with the history of the past. Most of the wars of recent times have been fought out in regions which had previously no associations for us,—in South African deserts, or beside obscure rivers in Manchuria or Mexico. But in almost every theatre of this great war we find ourselves in surroundings that are thronged with memories. Our soldiers are encamped to-day on the very battlefields of Caesar, Charlemagne, Attila, William the Silent, Marlborough, Napoleon. They are marching in the track of Alexander and Xerxes and the Assyrian kings. We can almost feel as if all the battles of past ages were being fought over again in this war of the whole world.

The war revives history for us not only by its geographical conditions but by its causes and issues. Whatever may have been its direct occasion it has sprung out of the age-long strivings of the great European peoples. Germany aims at completing the work which was begun by Frederick, and indeed long before him. Russia is at last securing her inheritance of the old Eastern Empire. Italy has entered on the final stage of the long journey towards national unity. France and England are united in the task which they took over from Rome of maintaining civilization against barbarism. It is not too much to say that the background of this war is the whole of European history since the emergence of the modern nations. Those who take the war by itself, or in connection merely with the events of their own life-time, can have no more idea of its significance than a spectator who drops in casually at the fifth act can understand the play.



For the last two years, then, the past has been brought strangely near to us. We have discovered that history is concerned, not merely with a world that is gone, but with the vital issues of our own age. It is not surprising that many people who formerly troubled themselves little about history are now coming to regard it with something like a superstitious feeling. In the darkness of the present they go to it for signs and oracles. They believe that what has been is that which shall be, and that the solution of all problems is lying to our hand, if we know how to look for it, in the records of the past. How far are we justified in this view of history as the guide to the present?

I remember conversing with a very able man on the day that the late King Edward VII succeeded to the throne. My own estimate of the new king was free from any taint of flattery, but my friend declared, "You are quite wrong; he will make an excellent King, for he never read a book of history in his life." He then went over a list of famous statesmen and men of action, showing in each case how they never gave a moment's thought to history. He held that for a modern statesman, more especially, ignorance of history is the first thing necessary to success. At the time I was inclined to question this opinion, and I still think it needs to be qualified. I believe that some of our Canadian statesmen are seriously handicapped by their ignorance of history—and of everything else. But I have come to think it possible that my friend was correct in his general idea, and that it is not so paradoxical as it might appear.

That history repeats itself is no doubt true; but at best it is only a half-truth, and for the practical statesman a dangerous one. The life of the world is incessantly changing. Something that happens to-day may seem to be simply the repetition of something that happened a hundred, or fifty, or ten years ago; but when you look closer you find that all the conditions have altered in the interval. If you merely repeat the action that proved to be the right one on the previous occasion you disregard the new factors, which in nine cases out of ten are vital. To act effectively in any given situation a man must be able to envisage it exactly as it is, looking straight at *this* situation, not at one that partly resembled it in his grandfather's day.

If he comes to his task with his mind obsessed by ancient precedents he will almost certainly go wrong, and it is often safer to be ignorant of them altogether. Those ghosts of the past will only distract him in his dealing with living men and actual things. Edward VII, as it turned out, was a successful king; and his success was mainly due to his taking the present as he found it. He did not spend his time in poring over the records of Edward I and Edward III. They were far abler men than he was, and served their own time well; but the England and France they had to do with were not those of the twentieth century, and he wisely left them alone. Contrast his behaviour with that of his fatuous nephew, the German Emperor, whose head is forever buzzing with historical memories. He never makes a speech without dragging some unfortunate ancestor out of his well-earned oblivion. He journeys every year over his empire, visiting the places made sacred by the murder of Frenchmen or Russians in former times. He has plastered Berlin with statues of all the notorious rascals of bygone Germany, to remind his people that the present is one with the past. And as a result of this constant brooding over antiquity he has got wandered among the centuries. He goes about this modern world in the costume of a crusader. He works with ideas and methods that were thrown upon the dust-heap after the invention of printing. One cannot but feel that the tragic blunders of his reign are largely due to this worship of history, upsetting a brain that was none too strong to begin with. And the Kaiser with his historical illusions is typical of his whole nation. There can be little doubt that the German people have been led into this war, not only by material motives, but by their preoccupation with history, which has clouded their whole outlook on the world they live in. Whatever may be the explanation the fact is indisputable that the German lives in the past, in a way that the Englishman or the Frenchman does not do. We all know that our nation has done some considerable things,—has built up an empire, won the battle of Waterloo, produced Shakespeare, discovered the law of gravitation and the law of supply and demand; but we do not keep on thinking about those wonderful things we have done. We prefer to take them as settled, and to pass on to the next business. There have also been some dark episodes in our history,



which might easily have left a lasting bitterness, but in a generation or two these have always been forgotten. Men have refused to take up their fathers' quarrels, not from any high Christian motive, but simply because they were not interested in the concerns of a past age. The average Briton is sorely puzzled when a certain anniversary comes round on which a section of his countrymen celebrate the Battle of the Boyne. Where and what is the Boyne? Who fought there? What did they fight about? When did it take place? More than two hundred years ago! Then why on earth should you excite yourself about it now? That is our British way—to let the past go, and leave dead men to settle their own differences; and may be we carry this principle too far. One would like to think that certain things will be remembered to the third and fourth generation—the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the sack of Belgium, the treatment of our wounded and prisoners. But the chances are that before long we will let it all pass. Many of us will be saying a few years hence, “these are bygones now, and we must not cast them up against these honest, kindly Germans, who are so anxious to do business with us, and have no doubt forgotten the unfortunate past.”

But the Germans do not forget: that is the fact about them which makes it so difficult for us ever to place ourselves at their point of view. We marvel at the boundless arrogance of the modern German. How have those beery little men in spectacles contrived to persuade themselves that they are a sort of higher species, endowed with celestial graces? The answer is, I believe, that each living German has annexed to himself, by an imaginative process, all the past history of his race. He is forever pondering on what Germany has been, on the great things Germans have done during the last twenty centuries, till he comes to feel that he represents all that. In like manner, he treasures the memory of all the injuries ever done to his most distant ancestors; hence the intensity of hate and vindictiveness which has surprised everybody in the present war. France no doubt got the better of Germany on several occasions, but Frenchmen imagined that old scores were all wiped out in 1870. But no; the Germans had never forgiven Louis XIV and Napoleon, and would not be satisfied till France was crushed altogether. England, it appears, did

something that annoyed Frederick the Great; what it was, no one in England can now remember. But it has rankled in the German mind for nearly two hundred years. You can hardly read a German article now without finding some venomous reference to it. "May God punish England"—for refusing to lend Frederick that half-crown which he never meant to pay back! The Germans ought to be forbidden to learn history, on the same principle that liquor must not be sold to Indians. But, on the contrary, history is the chief staple in German education, and the history is carefully doctored and distilled, so as to magnify the greatness and the wrongs of Germany and the iniquity of the surrounding world. It is the fundamental idea in all German knowledge to-day that everything must be viewed through the historical medium; and in one sense we must admit that this method is a sound one. Things have come to be what they are by a process, which we must take into account before we can rightly understand them. But German science is so intent on how things have come to be that it never considers what they *are*; and this, to my mind, is the root cause of the bungling and misconception which have helped to ruin Germany in these days. The Germans grow angry and scornful when they are told that they know absolutely nothing about France or England or America, or, for that part, about themselves. "Why," they tell us, "we know more of the history of your own country than you do yourselves"; and this is no idle boast. There are periods of British history on which German writers are our chief authorities. The German schoolboy would beat the English one every time in an examination on the origin of Parliament or the wars of the roses. And just for this reason they do not understand us. Their picture of England as it now is has been overlaid with all that dust of forgotten ages, which does not exist for us. I was reading an article the other month in a German magazine on the character of England. The writer began with the invasion of Julius Caesar; he was scathing in his criticism on the morals of Hengist and Horsa; he examined, in much detail, the effects of the Norman conquest, and finally worked his way into the reign of King John. At this point he regretted that his time was up, but was confident that he had said enough to reveal the true character of the English people. To do the



Germans justice, the hatred with which they regard us is not directed against *us* at all. They hate certain sinister mediaeval figures whom they call "Asquith" and "Grey"; they hate the policy of Queen Elizabeth, and the conduct of Warren Hastings in India. That is the tragedy of their attitude in this war. They are dashing their empire to pieces in a furious effort to destroy enemies who died, in the course of nature, hundreds of years ago.

There is a fallacy, then, in the view that history affords us our best guidance in the present. It is often assumed that since every contingency we are likely to meet with has happened, in some form, before, we have nothing to do but to store our minds with precedents. The statesman, the general, the administrator will find his plan of action ready made, if he has a large enough assortment of historical parallels, available for instant reference. But this belief is based on a radical misconception, for life does not repeat itself in the manner we suppose. The emergency of to-day is only superficially the same as that of last century or last year, and requires to be met in a wholly different way. Too much acquaintance with historical analogy is an actual hindrance to us when we are brought face to face with living situations. It causes us to mix up one set of conditions with another that is entirely different. That is the reason—or at least one of the reasons—why academical persons (college presidents and the like), make such a futile exhibition as practical statesmen. It might appear at first sight as if they of all men were fitted to guide us. They come to the problems of the present with all their knowledge of the past, and have only to rummage a little in their memories to find a key that will open any lock. But the effect of their historical training is to blur their vision of realities. They know so well what Washington did and Lincoln did that they never see exactly what *they* should do. They are like whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear fair, but within are full of dead men's bones.

I have dwelt at perhaps too much length on the negative aspect of the subject, for it is the one which is most commonly overlooked. History, in one sense, is a false guide. To deal effectively with a present crisis we are better to forget the past, and find new solutions for what are always new problems.

But though history cannot be a guide to us in any literal sense it has a value that cannot be exaggerated, when we once understand clearly what it does and does not teach. I will only touch briefly on one or two aspects of this teaching of history which have been brought into special prominence by the great war.

For one thing, as has been suggested already, we need to have historical knowledge in order to find our true bearings in the world we live in. The present does not repeat the past, but it has grown out of it, and has to be viewed in connection with it. Events can never be taken just by themselves. They are bound up with some larger movement, which has been long in process, and to gauge their real significance we must be able to relate them to the whole movement of which they form a part. It is here that the practical politicians, who limit their view to what is actually before them, are apt to be found wanting. In some ways they are more to be relied on than the men who look at everything through a fog of history; but their danger is that they see the present too closely and out of its right proportion. They know perfectly how the road is turning now, but with the wider historical view they would discover that this is only an accidental bend in it, and not the main direction. If the Germans have muddled themselves by their absorption in history, we Anglo-Saxons have too much of what might be called the newspaper habit of mind. We study the world's life intently as it goes on from day to day, and each day's happenings occupy our whole field of vision. Some disaster happens—and at once we conclude that everything is going wrong, and that all our aims and methods must be reversed. Something turns out to our advantage—and on the strength of this we take up with some shallow theory, which will have to be thrown aside to-morrow. Now the corrective to this habit of mind is to turn from newspapers to history. There we can follow the deeper currents of our national life, and discover how they are tending, in spite of occasional ebb and flow. We become aware of certain great traditions which are fairly sure to maintain themselves, of motives that have always been at work beneath the surface. We learn to see events in their proper perspective, and to distinguish those which have some permanent meaning. History is no mechanical guide, by means of which we can tell precisely



what will happen, and what we ought to do. But it places us at the higher point of vantage from which we can judge the present. Knowing the forces that have made it and whither they have been tending, we can forecast, as we could not do otherwise, the probable outcome of events.

Again—and this is perhaps the chief use of history—it enables us to make out the great underlying principles which govern the life of nations. We can see that certain lines of action have always led in the long run to certain results, and from this we know that some constant law is operating, which cannot be trifled with. In our individual lives we soon become acquainted with such laws. The child tries to play with a red coal, and is wiser next time. A man gets drunk, but knows each time that he will suffer for it the morning after. Or he lies and cheats for the sake of immediate profit, and discovers by and by that these methods do not pay. In our private lives we all learn a wholesome respect for the ten commandments. Ingenious thinkers are always proving that they are only figments of the imagination, but we run our heads against them and find them solid. But in the collective life it is very much harder to ascertain the principles of action, or to believe that there are such principles at all. Issues in which millions of people are concerned are so slow in coming to a head that we cannot follow them, and connect cause and effect as in the narrow life of an individual. A nation can continue being drunk, after one fashion or another, for a long series of years, and is conscious of no ill effects. On the contrary, it finds the process a grand and exhilarating one, and insists that drunkenness is the true condition of national health. In like manner it can base its policy on thieving, falsehood, violence, and persuade itself that it has been brilliantly successful. It can point out to all doubters that for a whole generation, or perhaps a century, it has followed this policy, and has attained by means of it to all kinds of welfare. Now it is only in the light of history that we can check the error in all those attempts to circumvent the eternal laws of human society. Within the space of a lifetime they may not be able to produce their results, but we can take in a wider horizon. This experiment which seems to be turning out so splendidly to-day has been tried again and again in the last five thousand years; and it

has always failed. We can see why it has failed, and why it must fail, under any given set of conditions. History may not teach us what definite action we ought to take in the present, but it reveals to us certain economic laws that must be obeyed, certain principles of government and of social and moral order that are sure to vindicate themselves. How we should observe these principles in the particular circumstances of our own time it is for us to discover, and history can here afford us no guidance. But it makes clear to us the fundamental laws, which we will transgress at our peril.

It is a riddle why Germany, which is so devoted to historical study, has neglected the one great and obvious lesson of history. Almost all her action for the last forty years has been directly in the teeth of those laws which history has established. It was surely plain by this time that a nation cannot be cemented with gunpowder, that treaties are not overridden with impunity, that brutality is stupid even from a military point of view, that paper is not money, that two and two make four. You would have been impatient two or three years ago with a man who even mentioned to you these platitudes. But now they have to be solemnly repeated. Endless books and articles are being written to prove them, and constitute what we call "the literature of the war." But they require no proving. The history of the world for thirty centuries back has been the continual proof of them, and it was hardly worth the expense of this great war to have them demonstrated again. Sometimes we are reproached for our optimism about the issue of the war. How can we tell that we are sure to win? Is it not possible that Germany may invent some new gas—that the Crown Prince may die—that Russia may run short again of ammunition? But our faith is not likely to be shaken by any calamitous event that may yet happen. It is founded on the existence of those iron laws, which have held good since the date of the pyramids, and will not fail us now.

To sum up, I would maintain that history is a dangerous guide when we go to it for precise directions, and try to model our action now on that which was quite successful in a bygone time. It is true that modern events seem often to be literal counterparts of events in the past. Again and again in the



course of the present war our political and military experts have assured us that such and such a thing *must* happen, since it happened in Caesar's time, or Napoleon's time, when the situation was exactly the same. But the present cannot be judged from the past in this mechanical fashion. It is always new and incalculable, and has to be dealt with in the light of its own peculiar conditions. The less you think about ancient precedents the better will you grasp the facts before you and know what they require of you. But there is still a sense in which history is an indispensable guide. It enables us to see the present in its true character, as part of a great movement which must be understood as a whole. It helps us to realize that in human affairs there are certain governing principles, as sure in their operation as natural laws. We must judge for ourselves how we may best apply those principles in this ever-changing world, but the knowledge of them is the root of all wisdom.

E. F. SCOTT.

## CANADIAN FOREST AND FOREST FIRES.

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WITH a natural love for the woods and perhaps unusual opportunities for observation, the writer may be pardoned if he indulges in a little plain talk just now, when the terrible fires in our northern forests are fresh in our memories and a quite similar wholesale destruction of life and property dates back only a few years.

It will be interesting in the first place to summarize the laws which have been passed (I do not say "put in force." That is quite another thing!) in some of the provinces.

### *Nova Scotia.*

"No person shall make, kindle or start a fire for the purpose of clearing land, or other like purposes, nor set up nor operate a portable steam engine within sixty rods of any woods, between the fifteenth day of April and the first day of December next following in any year, without first having obtained leave in writing from the chief ranger or sub-ranger. It shall be the duty of such chief ranger or sub-ranger on being requested to grant leave to start such fire, or to set up or operate such portable steam engine, to examine the place at which it is intended to start the fire, or to set up or operate the steam engine, and the adjoining lands, and the timber, trees and other property thereon, and to refuse such request and decline to grant leave or to grant it only on conditions to be performed by said persons, if in his opinion it would not be safe by reason of the danger of fire spreading thereon or otherwise."

### *Quebec.*

"No person shall, in the forest or less than a mile from a forest, set fire to, or burn, any pile of wood, branches or brush-wood, or any tree, shrub or other plant or any black loam or light soil, or any tree trunk or tree that has been felled, at any time, except for clearing purposes between the 16th of November and the 31st of March of the following year, *but between the 1st of April and the 15th of November*, it is necessary to first obtain the written permission of the Minister, or of any other officer of the department thereto authorized by the Minister, or of the fire ranger.



"When the permission authorized by Article 1638 has been given, the Minister, the officer of the department authorized thereto, the fire ranger, or the rural inspector, as the case may be, must decide what precautions are to be taken in the special circumstances of each case.

"In every case, however, the material to be burned must be piled in heaps or rows at a distance of at least fifty feet from the forest, and it shall be the duty of the person so authorized to make a fire, to remain on the spot until the fire is completely extinguished.

"The fact of obtaining a permit to burn shall not discharge the person obtaining the same from general responsibility for any damages caused by the fire so lighted.

"The permit thus obtained shall not allow the setting of a fire, at the time mentioned, if a heavy wind is blowing at that time, and if conditions are such as might cause a fire outside of the place indicated."

#### *Ontario.*

Clause 4: "No person shall set out or start, or cause to be set out or started, any fire in or near the woods within any fire district between the first day of April and the first day of November in any year except for the purpose of clearing land, cooking, obtaining warmth, or for some industrial purpose; and where a fire is started for any such purpose the obligations and precautions imposed by this act shall be observed."

#### *British Columbia.*

"During the close season (between May 1 and October 1) no person, firm or corporation shall set out, or cause to be set out, fires in or near slashings or forest debris, standing or fallen timber, or bush land for the purpose of burning slashings, brush, grass, or other inflammable material, or for any industrial purpose, without first obtaining a permit therefor."

It is quite evident that if these laws were carefully administered, forest fires would be comparatively rare. Those who spend a good deal of time in the woods know that they are not carefully administered—hardly administered at all. My experience, while not confined to Ontario, has been mostly

obtained in that province. It covers a considerable period of time and a large part of the province. My impression is that the people pay very little attention to the fire regulations. Settlers burn brush heaps at any time in the summer and often to my knowledge start fires to clear off land under circumstances which make it almost certain that the fires will spread. There seems to be no sense of responsibility, little thought of consequences, and a total disregard of the law, a copy of which carefully printed on linen may be conspicuously nailed up on a tree nearby. Lately I spent ten weeks in a district large areas of which have been burnt over so often that a clean sweep has been made of all vegetation and humus where the soil is thin, and even where it is deep, its fertility has been largely destroyed. During that time fires were very frequent, and to my knowledge most of them were set for two purposes, (1) by settlers to clear land, and (2) by persons who wanted an easier chance to prospect for minerals. For about a week two forest rangers were camped within sight of these fires. I saw them frequently, but never observed them take any measures to stop the fires. After smouldering for several weeks of calm weather the fire was at last brightened up by a gale which carried it for many miles. In its course it must have destroyed a good deal of valuable pine, scattered groves left from former fires, and it is certain that it set back the natural re-forestation of those rocky hills and ridges a generation or so. This case is only an example of many which I could cite, and which are within the knowledge of the general public. The newspaper discussion of the recent terrible devastation in Northern Ontario is significant. When it came to an inquiry into *causes*, the correspondents and editors almost invariably assigned the disaster to "bush fires" which had been brought to large dimensions by drought and gales. It did not seem to occur to them to inquire into the causes of the little bush fires which led to the big ones, and it did not seem to occur to any of us wise people of Ontario to put the little fires out!

The trouble is not with the laws, although I have no doubt they can be improved, but with their administration. To go deeper, there are a great many people living in Canada — in pessimistic moods I am inclined to include the vast majority of us — who are impatient of



any restraint of their activity, — we are practically lawless in these respects. Our forefathers were not restricted in the matter of making fires anywhere and everywhere. But they knew how—were living under conditions which made it imperative that they should know how. A few dreadful experiences, like that of the Miramichi fire in New Brunswick three-quarters of a century ago, taught the pioneers of those days; but their descendants, and the newcomers, many of them city dwellers, or children of city dwellers, do not see any reason for the precautions. It is true that a process of education is being attempted by the various government departments and bureaus. Carefully worded placards are posted everywhere in and near forest lands, asking the people to be careful in the use of fire and pointing out the possible consequences in destruction of property and life, if these precautions are not observed. The Canadian Forestry Association has taken up this propaganda energetically; and, by the way, the Secretary, Mr. Robson Black, in a recent pamphlet, makes it quite clear that the Ontario law is defective both in its provisions and in its administration. These educative efforts are good, and have aroused a very large body of public opinion which now demands action. It can be safely assumed that intelligent, well informed Canadians are of one opinion as to the necessity for action, although it is rather disturbing to find journals ilke the *Toronto Daily News* and the *Canadian Mining Journal* taking comfort from the reflection that the recent fires in Northern Ontario will make prospecting easier! That is exactly the attitude of the prospector who starts a fire for the purpose! I do not think there are many real prospectors who would do it, but I know there are a few.

Let us assume then that there are a great many Canadians, a large majority of us, who know enough and are decent enough not to start fires in the woods when it is dangerous to do so. There remain three classes to be looked after: (1) The ignorant, (2) the careless, and (3) the criminal. It is almost time to put them all in the third class; and, for purposes of administering the law, this should be done at once, for a very good reason. Ignorance and carelessness become criminal when they lead to the destruction of property and life, and can be most quickly and surely banished by practical demonstra-

tion of the consequences. Find out who start the fires, then prosecute, and punish. A very simple prescription and easy to follow, if we have the mind. A few cases of prosecution and punishment well advertised would do more to educate these three classes than years of placarding and appealing. When private property is destroyed by fires started illegally in the settled parts of the country a prosecution sometimes follows. I heard recently of a case in which a farmer recovered, from a neighbor who started a fire carelessly, the full value of property destroyed by the spread of the fire. But he had to prosecute. What is needed is a small army of public prosecutors—guardians of the forests whose duties shall include inquiry and prosecution, when fires are illegally started.

To sum up:—

1. The destruction of property and life by forest fires is terrible and likely to increase, because a district once burned over is left in an extremely inflammable condition when the trees which have been killed become dry.

2. Forest fires are usually started by people who are ignorant, careless, or criminal. These people should be taken care of as in the case of other destruction of property, public and private.

3. The existing laws for the prevention of forest fires are mostly good, but they are not administered. The Ontario law seems to be faulty in allowing too many exceptions in the close season.

4. A vigorous administration of the laws now in the statute books would prevent most forest fires. This implies real forest guardians (the backwoodsman of Ontario smiles when you refer to forest rangers), for whom the public forest domain would be a sacred charge. It implies also that forest guardianship should be made an honourable and skilled profession.

5. We Canadians should cultivate carefully a patriotism which includes the idea that our country with all its resources is a trust to be handed on to succeeding generations, not only unimpaired, but increased in value. From this standpoint what will history say of our administration of lands once covered with magnificent forests and capable of growing no other crop?

W. L. GOODWIN.



## THE NEW SARTOR.

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I PARTED from Mons. Von Sartor at the station. You will remember that his war attitude made him impossible. He was French, therefore whole-heartedly pro-Ally, you would argue, but if you knew Von Sartor you would not be too certain. He was Alsatian, which ought to have settled it, but then he chose to be a ratter. *Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni* as one used to say—the chemical formula or equivalent does not yet exist. Of course it was not fundamentally that he was pro-German, but he imagined himself a publicist, one who was doing somewhat the same work here, as Bernard Shaw, Simon, or shall we say Harden were doing in Europe—*Realitätfabrikirenten* might be the word. That of course was more than we could stand for. We might start out meaning to be polite, just, fair-minded, but then the fact of being so gave the fellow points already, which he took advantage of, and you to scramble back to the higher ground of patriotism. . . Then there were the students. . . I believe it was pigs they let loose on him this time. . .

I felt I ought to see him off. We had had much discourse together. There were days or rather evenings when he brought back Europe strangely with all its atmosphere, and he would then even produce *vin ordinaire* and some kind of *pâtés*. His wife would resurrect from some lair, they light-house-kept, and together the three of us rattled. He would say something nasty, acid and brutal as he saw me out into the zero calm of Notreville, but if a cat were about he chased it round three streets and came back roseate. *Je l'ai tué*, he threw off lightly. . . It was so he greeted me as he stood on the little platform at the end of the local. "Ah, you come to see me kicked out, but what, I kick back, you see! Tiens"—he turned to his wife, an inert figure of mournfulness within the car, "Lisette, passe-moi vite ma valise là." With rapid nervous fingers he undid it, and hauled out a manuscript bundle; the train was just jarring into motion, he hurled the bundle at me, and disappeared behind a freight van, posing superbly. I had an impression of Madame issuing from the

window and breaking into machine-gun Parisian, "J'ai toujours dit que votre sale petite ville univer—" and then the local clamours drowned her. The *sale petite ville* answered for itself.

When I examined the manuscript afterwards I found it was a kind of *carnet de voyage*, collected from everywhere. Von Sartor of course came first to the States. It was there he learnt English. He had been brought out by some travelling American who from behind a cigar in Geneva or Basel had offered him a professorship at Stubbs' College, Pa. It had turned out that Stubbs' College was not strictly academic. Von Sartor had wandered, gone west, got into B.C., worked east, and joined us. You will realize that his impressions were primarily Anglo-Saxon in the wider sense—I feel I must fill in more detail before I get on to his *carnet*. He had that European faculty of applying the processes of reasoning very soundly up to a certain point, and then at the moment when the time comes to say with old Montaigne, "Que sçais-je?" of insisting on saying, "Je sais tout." His long distance views were apt to be hopelessly distorted, and yet he might describe an adjoining tract of country with the closest accuracy. His knowledge of the English educational system was confined to a very fleeting experience in a school in England, yet he theorized with the greatest confidence on the subject both of scholastic and university systems, though he could only know the latter by contact with his colleagues. "Your education," he said to me once, "is fundamentally aristocratic. You teach the really clever ones, and make them scholars. The rest you only discipline and drill, their education is solely the hardening by the sports and games, and the experience of community life. You have also a very clever trick of stealing the best brains from the masses, by scholarships and so forth, and incorporating them in the classes. Taken when young and thrust into the hypocritical *soi-disant* democratic society of your great universities they are quickly absorbed by their environment and emerge lost to their parent origins." I might parallel that with a stray note I found in his *carnet*. "Naturally in this aristocratic atmosphere it has been necessary to differentiate again, and certain colleges give themselves an air of exclusiveness as if, though the university might give the



degree, they alone can confer the *cliché*. Typical is the training school for statesmen and administrators. The Curzons, the Asquiths the Milners, all disciples of a famous 'Master' of Balliol, a mid-Victorian type combining the arrogance of Dr. Johnson with the austerity of a lay Fenelon."

But we are concerned principally with his *carnet*, the major and American portion of which was headed with a quotation from Bourget,

"Un nouveau peuple—mais lequel?"

Von Sartor had been profoundly interested in America, and had fraternized extensively. With a view to making himself at home he would frequent smoking cars, and other public places, and make vigorous use of the suspension of the *Défense de cracher* edict. As a matter of fact it made his fellow-travellers prudish, but his talking capacity won his way in the end, for if you have noticed it, it is the Anglo-Saxon untalkativeness which makes modern Anglo-Saxons unpopular.

It is to see how Sartor confirmed his theories from these conversations; these theories as will be seen were based on *Les Trappeurs de l'Arkansas* and Fenimore Cooper, but this was the kind of thing I found in his *carnet*. (He wrote in English, I should mention, for practice. Hence the peculiar style).

"Bases of American society — Race an insignificant factor in comparison with milieu. If you seek to establish a basis for these various characteristics, free expression of thought, assertiveness, a harmony midst wrangling, a certain innocence and naïveté, which with all their shrewdness makes them easy dupes and the occupation of 'fakir' a lucrative one, the power of publicity and the substitution of advertisement for literature, the equality accorded to the youth by their elders, you will find, I believe, that these said characteristics have their foundation in the first features of the primitive community. What have they done, this people? They have launched themselves suddenly into a void and have in consequence expanded beyond measure. They have traced a rapid path through the wilderness, and their very existence has depended on their being able to find the way back. Hence their high poetic expression of "blazing a trail" operation which they continue and no more on all fields of knowledge

and learning which they enter. Face to face with great forces of nature, with the cunning of the brutes and the cunning of the savage, they have borrowed the weapons of those opposing forces. "Le bluff" great feature American is but an adaptation of the wiles of the savage animal or man, borrowed even by them from nature itself with its schemes of protective colouring, of trick and pretence. One sees it in their national game, "the poker." Civilizations more complicated amuse themselves with games demanding reason, judgment, deductive power. The aim is always the same, to vanquish some one in mock-fighting. Here the means of battle are the chances of fortune and a psychological use of one's resources, the pitting of your nerve against your opponent even when you know force is overwhelmingly on his side. This hasty and huge conquest of a continent has been but a repetition of the bluff on a colossal scale. They have run up a rail fence and called it a civilization. In all their actions and habits what you recognize finally is the log hut and the clearing. . . .

The position of children in this civilization is marked and curious. From the first years there begins a struggle between the wills of the adult and the youth, for the children have the same impatience of restraint and rebellion to authority which distinguishes their elders. The parents seek to assert their authority. Blows from the hair-brush rain. In their national comic it is always so that the episode ends, and it is the mother of Buster Brown who applies the hairbrush. But it is useless. Of the two wills it is the younger that triumphs, because all his faculties have been concentrated on the struggle, while with the parent it is only a secondary series of impulses that have been called into play. Moreover be it remarked that the parent is contending with this handicap. From the first the child is a partial helpmate, an associate, not the parasite of our older communities. The boy gives his opinion, takes his own way, because in various ways he has worked beside his father in field or forest. For this reason he is accepted as an equal. The open free expression on his face, the daring with which he runs risks and faces dangers, is due to the fact that less than a century ago, he snatched the gun from the wall and fired through the window across his mother's body at the face of the Indian brave which has just appeared at the window. .



*Dàtail é note.* In this losing battle there stands one important figure. Everywhere it is recognized that but one type can dominate the youth. It is the wrinkled, yellow, prematurely worn, but keen and resolute "school-marm." One recognizes her by the horseshoe mouth, encircled by the brackets of a bulldog *pli*, a firm nose surmounted by large spectacles from which gleam keen but human eyes, type comparable only to our old country *curés* and wielding a similar power. Doubtless she is a survival of the fittest and many failures have gone to make this triumphant success, but she appears reduplicated many times in all quarters of the community. To what does she owe her success? Apart from those individual qualities which have selected the individual from the man? To the fact of her spinsterdom. Just as the Catholic clergy owe their success to the concentration of their faculties on their aim, so she too by her freedom from domestic ties can devote all her powers to the task in hand, and is free from those handicaps which the parent experiences in seeking to hold a partial equal in the position of a complete inferior. Homely but austere and noble figure I salute you, for you have taken an equal share in the training and the culture of this society, and it is you that have dared to wield the axe of Carrie Nation against the most dehumanizing element in this civilization. . . .

I have I find but pulled out a few stray leaves from the *carnet*. The attempt to give you an idea of its *ensemble* would be too great for the space at my disposal. One other *morceau* may suffice.

"As this society has become separated from that of Europe by the gradual development of its own individuality, so its masterpieces of art have tended to diminish. So long as America was a province of Anglo-Saxondom it produced figures in literature and art and not unworthy figures modelled on the Anglo-Saxon plan, though it is to be noticed that publicity made oratory a more pronounced American than English feature. At present the stream has dried up because it is now separated from the parent source by 'the Great Divide.' But doubtless that stream is rolling on and lengthening, in time to come to its own. The next and new manifestation of literature or art, whatever it be, may well spring from this virgin and

untrammelled source. Even the baroque and bizarre spontaneous growths at present visible suggest the fact. Most typical of these is the coloured comic supplement of the weekly papers. Designed in the first place to amuse children, they are now aimed to catch the interest of the elder children, in a word the nation. They are couched for the most part on the broadest spirit of satirical caricature. A certain type is taken. The Parvenu father clinging to his old and disreputable customs in spite of the efforts of his wife, an ogre this latter of the worst; the young parents with their only child; *l'enfant terrible*; the German-American whose children have already acquired the instincts of their new fatherland. A series of gaudily painted pictures reproduce some characteristic incident of the character whom custom has endeared to millions of readers. One among these alone achieves distinction. In this terrible country of the dollar you would say that a brutal struggle for life would have crushed all the finer instincts. In reality it is not so. A common social sense pervades the community far more than in the old world. Work is plentiful, poverty rare except among the new-comers, and what would be the proletariat takes a pride and an interest in their millionaires and multi-millionaires. They for their part are but little removed from the people. Only in their children is the cleavage beginning to reveal itself. A magnificent and large-handed charity redeems both the rich and the poor from the sheer selfishness which a similar state of life would engender in other countries. And this essential *bonté*, justification and manifestation alike of Jean Jacques' famous *L'homme est bon*, is crystallized in the beaming countenance of Happy Hooligan. This unfortunate, whom however one does not compassionate any more than one does Don Quixote or any other martyr, week by week goes from one catastrophe to another. He seeks to ally himself with the young and beautiful Suzanne. In spite of his more than homely features and poor patched clothes, his essential goodness has won her heart. The consent of the father, a *type maussade* this one, has been won by some obligation which Happy has laid him under. But some new blunder of the would-be bridegroom always causes the *vieillard* to retract his consent. And each blunder is occasioned by Happy's goodness of heart which induces him to perform



some service to a stranger. He himself goes through a long Iliad-Inferno of disaster. He is crushed in automobile accidents, thrown from trains, swept over Niagaras, packages from cranes descend on his head, as he obstinately seeks to recover the hat of some passer by; he incessantly encounters the minions of the law, though even these often relent, but the eve of his wedding day too often sees him in gaol. But still he comes up smiling. With the eternal optimism of his continent he awaits with confidence the next week which will give him another chance. What secret spring of suggestive analogy makes him the favorite of millions, so that the most grizzled Scrooge peers stealthily to see how Happy has fared in this week's number? Is it not that here meet two contending impulses? On the one hand but yesterday everyone was optimistic. The field marshal's bâton was in every knapsack. Many achieved the crown, the glory, the wealth, the fame. To-day the struggle is more intense. The press is greater, the victors fewer and more scarred. But in this tumultuous sea of thronging, contending individuals there is still hope, the acceptance of conditions, and the frenzied push to make their way. And what they all attend, the dearest gospel for them, is that their wounds, their bruises, the being crushed under a pitiless weight shall be the very earnest and pledge of the sureness of their goal. All fiction, all drama in America ends happily, with the unknown hero wedding a princess and sharing her kingdom. Only Happy receives all the blows, and none of the ha'pence, and yet still comes up smiling, with the certainty of future triumph bringing in his darkest hour the beginning of a smile to that pathetic homely face. Thus instinctively and unperceived the new lesson is being learned. How old must have been the Greeks that even in their earliest literature Achilles goes down in death, and Odysseus reaches home at last a spent and broken man. How sharp the pang it brings to think that this young and hopeful people has still before them, though not far distant, the disillusionment that is the long heritage of all our ancient world."

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Perhaps in the interests of history I might attempt some sort of apologia of Sartor's unfortunate attitude to recent events. The first days of the war found him uncertain. He had been a

French critic of France—he was of course a pupil of *L'école alsacienne*, and at times an upholder of German brutal directness. He had no sympathy for Belgium, for the Belgians were *une sale race* in his eyes. I regret to say that he first veered towards the Teuton side when that curious process was going on by which the British Liberal Cabinet 'found salvation.' His imaginary dialogues between Cambon, Grey, and Asquith, and his imaginary private correspondence between the two Cambons were brilliant to a degree. Sir Edward Grey became for him the traditional type of British statesman, the *comble* of perfidiousness, just because his main animating principle was conscience, just because he was on a fence and realized that it was necessary to get down one side or the other, and that there was mud both sides. He exposed the situation to me once as follows: "First of all," he said, "your minister Grey pledges himself to the French, in ways he is not able to fulfil. Then when Cambon, who has no illusions mind you, puts a dilemma before him, he retires to think it over, and, finding no solution, it strikes him that since a dilemma is such an awkward article he will present one himself to Germany. By this means he saves his own reputation, and then he tells an astonished and apathetic British public that it is time for Britain to resume its rôle of champion of the oppressed—in this case Belgium. Your country is hopelessly too late to save Belgium, an adventure moreover which it never dreamed of attempting. And to finish up, when Belgium has been sacrificed for you, in an act she would never have performed unless she counted on your assistance, you say, 'Heroic Belgium, you are unfortunately dead, but we will certainly avenge you when Kitchener's first hundred thousand are ready.' And your great comic paper, *Punch*, if you please, instead of a cartoon reflecting something of this spirit, represents the Kaiser as pointing out this to Albert, and Albert to reply, 'No, not my honour.' You are always the same, you know. Palmerston or Pitt, Gladstone or Grey, Bannerman or Cromwell, you always 'find salvation' just in the nick of time, and salvation always pays you cent per cent in the long run. Looking back at your history, I see that in spite of all that is against you, in spite of all the mistakes you will make, you will triumph. Admit that you are calculating, wily grabbers, and I will admire you, but



when I see your John Bull is really John Pecksniff and John Chadband, bah! you sicken me."

It can be realized of course that all this was purely intellectual—a small thing nowadays, as Mr. Shaw finds out; but it was unfortunate that when Sartor was in this state of mind that famous fatuity the "Business as usual" motto was launched. For us, of course, a cartoon is only a picture, literature is books, a catchword is a catchword, but for a Frenchman behind a saying there is an individual, a state of mind. And so, closely connected as it was with the English phrase most current in France and considered most typical—"Business is business"—our famous "Business as usual" seemed to a French mind a confirmation of all he had predicted. It was then he launched that unfortunate pamphlet, "The other fellow's business," which of course was far too ironical to be rightly understood, and which undoubtedly had a bad effect for the time being on recruiting. It is still fresh in one's mind how he passed meteorically from among us, and yet in justice to him I ought to make public his end, for Jacques 'Sarteur' has just marched on with his generation. He returned to France and after various squabbles he was reinstated, he joined the flying corps, and volunteered for pamphlet distribution by aeroplane. He wrote many of the pamphlets himself, of course, and he performed some remarkable feats in distributing pamphlets on to the top of the German emperor. I can imagine him consecrating his efforts to breaking the morale of the arch-imposter. He was finally brought down in a duel with two Fokkers, brought down ten thousand feet; he would have asked nothing better—on the Emperor's empty *Schlafwagen*.

R. I. P.

But I am sure if he could have lived but a mangled half hour he would have set to right and silenced even Wilhelm von Sinnlosigkeit.

W. M. C.

## BERGSON'S THEORY OF INTELLECT AND REALITY.

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FOREMOST of the philosophies of the present day stands the system of Henri Bergson. Along with much that is unique and original it combines a background of thought which comes from older sources. A few preliminary considerations will bring this background into view. However much individual thinkers may differ, philosophy as a whole has always centred around the attempt to understand the universe in its innermost being. The great systems of different ages have in fact arisen as so many answers to the imperious demand of our intellect that it should probe to the foundations of reality and encompass the whole circle of existence. But the very nature of this task raises the question as to whether our intellect is not after all limited in its powers and whether some aspects of reality must not always remain impenetrable by human thought. No conscientious philosophy can avoid this question; and the suggestion which it contains has been entertained by various thinkers. It will be sufficient here to refer to the attitude of the British philosopher Locke who found in the unwillingness of intellect to recognize its limitations, the chief source of its own confusion; while Kant, at a later date, was led to define this line of thought by limiting the grasp of our scientific understanding to the world of sense-appearances.

It is with this question as to the inherent limitations of our intellect that Bergson is throughout concerned. The movement of German idealism subsequent to Kant claimed to have transcended the Kantian position. Yet there are not lacking to-day those who see in intellect a very limited instrument of philosophical explanation. Among them we may count Bergson. "Our reason," he says, "incorrigibly presumptuous, imagines itself possessed, by right of birth or of conquest, of all the essential elements of the knowledge of truth." In opposing this assumption he is led to draw a fundamental distinction between life and inert matter, with a view to showing that in life we confront a mystery which intellect cannot fathom. Upon this distinction is based the peculiar form of his theory of knowledge. No longer, as with Kant, is it the



existence of God, freedom and immortality which are said to pass the comprehension of pure intellect; rather is it life and living processes, such as the biologist studies, that our intellect, in Bergson's opinion, fails radically to understand; while it is in explaining dead matter and merely physical changes that this same intellect naturally achieves its triumphs. There is, however, another aspect to Bergson's teaching. If intellect can never hope to understand life's nature and operations but only the physical changes of dead matter, we yet possess in instinct or intuition, as opposed to intellect, a key to life's secret. We shall ask therefore (1) whether Bergson's specific contentions about life, intellect and intuition can be upheld; and (2) if not, to what extent and under what form we can endorse the more general conception of intellect as being fundamentally limited in its powers of explanation.

To understand Bergson's contentions about life, matter, intellect and intuition, we should replace these four conceptions within their original setting. We find then that the opposition which exists for this philosopher between life and matter is based upon his beliefs as a biologist and an advocate of the theory of evolution. In an admirable review of current theories of evolution, he has shown the impossibility of giving a purely materialistic explanation of the development of living organisms. Life cannot therefore be reduced to a mere product or aspect of matter; from the outset it stands out as something unique and distinct in character; and the history of evolution becomes, in general outline, the history of the increasing organization of matter by this active, independent force called Life. Such indeed is Bergson's view. "We must," he says, "no longer speak of life in general as an abstraction. At a certain moment in certain points of space, a visible current has taken rise. This current of life, passing from generation to generation, has distributed itself among individuals without losing anything of its force, rather intensifying in proportion to its advance."

This image of evolution as consisting in the penetration of matter by an independent stream of life shows how Bergson introduces his two main conceptions—life and inert matter. To pass on to intellect and intuition, we find that it is life itself which has produced these two forms of consciousness. Al-

though in its work of organizing matter life has developed species in a multitude of different directions, it has followed, Bergson thinks, three main paths, viz., that which terminates in the vegetable world and those which, parting company within the animal world, have led respectively through the arthropod series to insects such as bees and wasps and through the vertebrate series to man. The original current of life in short has distributed itself along three branches, evolving three distinct types of organization each of which has a distinct character. The typical features of vegetables are found in their immobility and lack of consciousness. On the other hand, both arthropods and vertebrates unable to sustain themselves like vegetables by an immediate contact with earth, air and water, have had to pursue a more active course of existence. In them therefore life has evolved a nervous system which represents the power both for movement and also for the consciousness which guides movement. But while both arthropods and vertebrates are alike in this respect, they differ with regard to the types of consciousness which life has conferred upon them. While the consciousness which animates man as the highest vertebrate is essentially intelligent, behind the marvellous activities of organisms such as bees and wasps Bergson detects a consciousness which is instinctive rather than intelligent—a kind of consciousness which attains its ends by direct intuition rather than by reasoning. While this instinctive consciousness has been mainly developed in the hymenoptera, there remains however a fringe of intuitive apprehension around the intellect which has been perfected in man. From this point we may return to Bergson's contention, which may be restated thus: (1) Evolved by life our intellect cannot understand life; it understands only dead matter and purely physical processes. (2) To learn life's secret we must turn to instinct or intuition, a pure form of consciousness which cannot be reduced to intellect.

Why does Bergson attribute to intellect a natural capacity for understanding inert matter and an equally inherent inability to understand life? He is guided in the first place by an observation of the great success which has attended the sciences of the inanimate such as physics, chemistry and astronomy; and secondly, by the fact that in dealing with life the biologist



seems brought to a standstill as before a mystery. But the sources of his theory lie deeper than this. Our intellect seems above all a means of guiding our actions upon matter; and the high degree of intelligence which distinguishes man from other organisms is read primarily in the complex and studied character of his actions and reactions upon the material world.

As intellectual beings, Bergson continues, our progress has depended upon our ability to seize upon the advantages which matter presents, to put it into harness, so to speak, by fashioning it into implements and machines which we turn against itself. Hence, he infers that intellect has been evolved by life as an instrument whereby we should be able to grapple with matter, handling it to our own advantage. It will, therefore, be moulded, so to say, upon matter. Evolved by life to exploit, by its powers of reflexion, the resources of matter, intellect must above all else understand matter; and the principles of interpretation with which it has been equipped by life will be nothing but a counterpart in mind of the principles which determine matter and physical change. This explains, says Bergson, both why intellect is at home in the sciences of inert matter and why it cannot understand life which is different from matter.

Why should intellect, simply because it is at home in inert matter, be therefore wholly incapable of understanding life? Might it not be urged that, although life cannot be reduced to a dead mechanism, yet the principles which underlie matter may not be simply reversed within life but rather caught up into a higher synthesis, supplemented and transmuted, it may be, yet still in some sense preserved? If that were so, our intellect could comprehend, along with matter, something also of life; and if ever it could understand life entire, it would be by extending or deepening its own process and not by simply falling back upon intuition which, we are told elsewhere, is intellect's opposite. To raise this objection is to bring out a point not otherwise sufficiently clear. In so far as Bergson holds that intellect, just because it understands matter, is therefore unable to understand life; in so far as he maintains that it is by intuition, the opposite of intellect, that we can alone hope to penetrate life's secret—just in the same measure

are life and matter for him, not simply higher and lower aspects of a single reality, but radically opposed halves of a reality which falls asunder into two pieces. It is this dualism of life and matter which brings us to the main object of this paper. We shall examine it with a view to showing that it rests upon a false antithesis, and that life and matter though differing as higher and lower are not simple opposites. Consequently our intellect may be supposed capable of understanding also something of life. We shall then show more directly how in his anxiety to preclude intellect from an understanding of life, Bergson puts forward a theory of intellectual operations which is simply a travesty of the facts. Thirdly, we shall attempt to characterize logically the essential movement of life with a view to showing that the epistemological implications of instinct or intuition make the latter unfitted for the understanding of life; while in intellect we have the key to life's interpretation. Having thus overthrown or inverted Bergson's main contentions, it will remain to ask what is left of permanent value in his thought.

Coming then to the first point, the opposition which Bergson postulates between life and matter consists for him in the opposed character of vital and physical changes. In the sphere of merely physical events, change, he points out, produces no real novelty, no genuine creation. This is made clear by a reference to scientific method. In all the physical sciences predictability is the criterion of knowledge. We understand phenomena just so far as, certain conditions being given, we can foretell what will follow. But this ideal of predictability casts a light upon the nature of physical change in general. It implies that the present is determined by the past, the future by the present, according to necessary relations which science may discover. Extend this conception to the whole series of changes throughout time and space and it is implied that an omniscient intellect from a study of the beginnings of the universe could have foretold infallibly the whole of its subsequent history. The whole of exact science rests upon this belief. But does not this mean that the whole series of physical changes which might have been predicted from the outset, was also in some sense already given from the outset? If this is so, however, the passage of time, so far as physical change is con-



cerned, brings to birth no real novelty, no genuine creation. It merely makes patent what was latent, evolving what was from the start involved. Because the whole of its subsequent history was already, in some sense, given along with its first beginnings, the changes which dead matter undergoes can produce no real or substantial novelty.

When we turn to life and living processes such as the biologist studies we find, says Bergson, nothing of the sort. Where there is life time seems very real; it brings to birth real novelty, genuine creation. For life is possessed of that spontaneity and freedom which matter lacks; and this spontaneity manifests itself above all in the absolute unpredictability of the future where life is concerned. Upon this absolute unpredictability Bergson insists most strongly. It is the meaning he attaches to freedom. But this unpredictability carries us at once to a deeper opposition between vital and physical changes. It means that where life is at work, the future right up to the moment of its occurrence is undetermined by the present. Life's future overflows its present so that it cannot conceivably be sketched out therein in an idea. In short, wherever there is life, says Bergson, there is radical contingency in change, incommensurability between past and present, present and future. Because therefore life's future is unpredictable and indeterminate, vital changes produce that real novelty which is lacking in matter where all is given in advance. It is largely upon the basis of this antithesis that Bergson affirms that our intellect, evolved exclusively to understand matter and being therefore pledged to the standards of predictability and mechanical determination, is unable to understand the creative character of life. But the opposition in question does not appear to be valid. For Bergson's characterization of real novelty as implying radical contingency in change and his attempt to oppose life to matter in this respect lands him in fundamental contradiction. It is the continuity of life upon which Bergson everywhere insists.

Wherever a process is distinctly vital in character, he tells us, there we have a change which is single and indivisible, however many successive phases our intellect may distinguish within it. But how can we hold by this real indivisible continuity of living processes and yet maintain that every suc-

cessive phase in a vital change is marked by a relation of radical contingency to that which precedes and that which follows it? To postulate absolute incommensurability between the successive moments of a process is to break up the process itself into an infinity of disconnected fragments. Radical contingency, in short, strikes right at the heart of continuity. Just as the continuity of an inference is broken if the conclusion does not really follow from the premises, so also a living process cannot be continuous if its successive phases do not flow out of one another by some kind of necessity. It is indeed instructive to note that on more than one occasion Bergson is compelled to deny his own teaching. In explaining the presence of similar organs in different lines of evolution he says, "species must evolve identically if the hypothesis of a common vital impulse be accepted." The use of the word '*must*' here implies that Bergson partially rejects his doctrine of radical contingency in life. His acceptance of the theory of definite periods of mutability and constancy in species also points in the same direction. In any case our point is this: In so far as Bergson believes in the concrete continuity of living processes, he must also believe that in vital as well as physical changes the past determines the present, the present the future. To admit this however is to do away in a large measure with his antithesis between life and matter.

That antithesis indeed rests in the end upon a false conception of what 'real novelty' means. If the phases of a vital process are related to one another by necessary connections must we therefore, as Bergson implies, deny to life the production of novelty? We can answer this question most easily by turning again to inference. There is here logical continuity between premises and conclusion; but there is also novelty in the conclusion. Though the latter may be implicated in the premises its novelty is sufficiently assured if when once made explicit it does not simply repeat the premises. So also we would urge that logical continuity between the successive phases of a vital process is quite compatible with that real novelty which consists in the fact that no single phase simply repeats its predecessor and that what was only implicitly present is now actually present. To understand novelty in any other sense is to follow a path which leads nowhere. On the other



hand, if we understand novelty in the sense we have urged, there will be novelty in both the vital and the physical series. Predictability does not mean lack of novelty nor is spirituality equivalent to utter contingency. There may indeed be more in life than in mechanism; there certainly will not be less; and the principles of matter are not simply reversed within life.

By breaking down the Bergsonian dualism of life and matter there has been shown to be at least a possibility that our intellect, although it understands matter, may also comprehend something of life. There is however, Bergson tells us, another deep-seated opposition between life and matter, which makes the former beyond our understanding. If physical science has succeeded in satisfying the test of predictability it has done so by refusing, in a new and special sense, to see any real novelty in the changes of inert matter. In all such changes it sees only a spatial rearrangement of old unchanging parts—a mere redistribution of changeless atoms. What appears new is therefore resolved into what is really old; all remains the same as it was except for the changed positions of the old atoms. In a new sense therefore the changes to which dead matter is subject appear to produce no real or substantial novelty. When we turn to life, however, the case is just the opposite. Where life is at work, change refuses to be analysed into such a mere regrouping of old parts. We cannot represent the ripening of our consciousness simply as a redistribution of old psychical elements; nor can we find, say in the embryological development of the individual, a mere rearrangement of factors present from the outset. In both cases because life is operating there is a genuine creation of new parts within new wholes. And what is true of the production of an individual is true also of the production of a species and more generally of any moment of a living form. Proceeding with a single indivisible sweep life actually creates the parts which go to form new wholes. It does not simply rearrange the old.

The opposition which thus exists between the ways in which vital and physical changes are carried out, shows us, says Bergson, why our intellect cannot understand life. Evolved essentially to comprehend the laws and operations of inert matter, our understanding is entirely analytic in prin-

ciple. Occupied with the task of analysing the given into pieces, the only construction it is capable of consists in arranging these old pieces in fresh combinations. All this is expressed by Bergson when he tells us that it is the essence of reason to shut us up within the given and when he compares our intellect to a kaleidoscope which produces its effects by a mere reshuffling of the old. As intellectual beings, he continues, we are above all fabricators or makers of machines. But fabrication consists in cutting up matter into pieces and rearranging these according to a plan. Hence it is but natural that intellect, even when it refrains from action, can do nothing but analyse, regroup old parts and represent all novelty as such a regrouping of the old. And in proceeding thus, intelligence takes its cue from matter which naturally falls into unchanging atoms and comprises in the novelty of its changes nothing more than a rearrangement of these. But because it is thus analytic, our intellect cannot understand the creative movement of life which produces new wholes that refuse to be analysed into a mere re-grouping of old parts.

The reasons which Bergson gives why intellect is wholly incapable of understanding life, may therefore be compressed into these two statements: (1) Unlike life, intellect is incapable of any construction which implies more than a regrouping of old parts; (2) it cannot understand novelty unless the new situation can be resolved into old elements. To understand novelty in short we must first somehow get rid of it. Both of these assertions may be shown to be false. To take the second first, it would certainly seem that our intellect has been designed expressly to deal with novelty. When we are confronted with the same situation recurring over and over again there is no need for intelligence to guide the accustomed action which forms the response. In the life of routine activity intellectual control sinks almost to zero. On the other hand, when the situations in which we are placed become so varied as to demand fresh actions upon each occasion, it is then, both in the history of the race and of the individual, that thinking becomes necessary.

It is here, however, that Bergson introduces his paradox. Granting, he says, that intellect handles novelty successfully, yet it only does so by representing the new situation as a com-



bination of old familiar elements. It is this which we deny. The chemist may represent novelty and change simply as a rearrangement of old atoms. But this method of dealing with novelty is not typical of our intellect as a whole. The theory in short that intellect, throughout its operations, understands a new situation only by first resolving it into a combination of old elements represents an impossibility in practice and also a poor logical theory. We will take these points in order.

In every department of knowledge education consists above all in grasping certain universal principles and then learning to apply them to all sorts of varied situations. No one has shown this more clearly than Plato in a little dialogue called *Ion*. Whereas Ion says that he is a supreme critic of Homer but cannot interpret any other branch of literature, Plato points out that if his skill rested upon intellectual principles he should be able to apply it not only to Homer but also to other writers. It is the same in all other spheres. The future general learns certain general principles of strategy. His success in the field will depend upon his ability to apply these to ever fresh situations. Intellectuality consists, in short, in just this ability to apply general principles to varied and different situations. But does this imply that if a principle has been applied to one situation, the only possibility of applying it to different situations consists in analysing all these into the same elements which formed the first, just as you may find the same bricks in the successive toy buildings which a child may erect? The answer is plain. Such an analysis would often be impossible in practice. The literary critic and the general interpret respectively all sorts of pieces of literature and strategical situations. And they do it by extending respectively the same principles to ever fresh circumstances. But the critic certainly never tries in interpreting fresh authors to reduce their works to a mere re-grouping of the elements found in a first author; nor does the general have to represent a new strategical situation as a redistribution of the old elements occurring in a former situation, before he can understand it. The man indeed who could not apply a general principle to a fresh case without this laborious analysis would not be intelligent; he would be a rule-of-thumb kind

of individual. If he were a general the day would have been lost before he began to get under way.

But if this ideal of explanation is impracticable, it is also false in theory. Intellectuality consists, it was said, in the ability to apply a single principle to a number of diverse situations. To do this, beneath the detailed differences of these situations, one must see some element of sameness. Logicians are fond of pointing to the aspect of thought which sees the one in the many, sameness in difference. But this ability to see a single principle involved in all sorts of different applications does not mean, as Bergson implies, that by analysis and artificial manipulation we must represent all the different situations as made up of the same or similar elements. To take this view is to misunderstand the whole nature of intellect; it is to lose sight of the fact that the unity of every concept or principle consists in its ability to unify a real manifold. If before we can extend a single principle to different situations, we must somehow get rid of all their differences, the cardinal function of thought will be destroyed. There will be no longer any differences left in which to see sameness.

Bergson's other point is that if intellect cannot understand real novelty still less can it produce it. It can only put old elements in a new order. It cannot therefore compare in this respect with life which creates new wholes only by creating new parts. This distinction also appears false; for intellect creates in just the same sense as life. The novelist who creates a work of fiction doubtless owes much to observation and experience. But even so, his finished work cannot be resolved into a mere re-grouping of old empirical elements. His imagination creates new situations; and new characters which are not due to a mere fusion of different elements selected from actual personalities. For genius is creative; and it is also the highest form of intellect. In artistic production reason may be suffused with feeling. But the fact that the greatest works of art are the most rational shows that reason is the spring of the artist's activity. To be creative one need not fall back upon the irrational or amorphous.

But even in its more strictly logical operations intellect may be shown to be creative. As we get to know more about objects or situations their meaning expands for us continually.



The most noteworthy instance of this is in inference. The conclusion grows out of the premises and it is itself in relation to them something new as was the case with Darwin's famous conclusion which grew out of years of studied observation. Now Bergson maintains that all our intellect can do in the way of producing novelty is to rearrange old pre-existent elements. But if we attend to the actual psychology of inference, is it not absurd to say that inference itself consists in associating a pre-existent conclusion with the premises? Nothing of the sort. There is nothing but an indivisible process of expansion whereby the conclusion, occurring for the first time within consciousness, grows out of the premises. Does not intellect therefore in the act of inference come very near to life itself, which, as Bergson says, creates new wholes only by creating also the parts into which they may be analysed?

In these few remarks we have tried to show, as against Bergson, that intellect is creative like life and can also understand real novelty such as life produces. The other half of Bergson's theory of knowledge may also be shown to be inadequate. When intellect fails us, we are told, we should turn to instinct or intuition to learn the secret of life's operation. Upon this point great emphasis is laid. In at least three different passages of his work *Creative Evolution* Bergson maintains that instinct is moulded on the very form of life and if questioned would give up life's secret. The biologist more especially is counselled to lay aside intellect and fall back upon immediate intuition. As long, says Bergson, as we study life with that intellect which has been designed to grapple with matter, so long shall we tend to reduce life to a dead mechanism, letting its meaning slip between our fingers. To understand life we should install ourselves right within its flow rather than study it from without; and to do this we must renounce intellect and take our stand upon that divining sympathy which is expressed on its cognitive side in what we call instinct or intuition.

Upon this semi-mystical ideal of the interpretation of life Bergson has much to say. But if we are willing to descend from the exalted level upon which he often moves and probe more cautiously beneath the surface we shall see that it is not sufficient to hail instinct triumphantly as the key to life's

meaning. Even an advocate of intuition such as Bergson may rightly be called upon to show in some detail why, life and intuition both being what they are, the latter is peculiarly adapted to understand the former. But it is in this detailed exposition that he appears to be lacking. It would be instructive to know for instance why, life being, in Bergson's opinion, characterized by radical contingency, unpredictability and the production of real novelty, intuition may be supposed to supply the key to its interpretation which intellect is said to lack. In the absence of any such explanation it may be shown that instinct or intuition is fundamentally unfitted to grasp life's essential nature. A comparison will make this clear.

It is the essentially mobile character of life upon which Bergson always insists. 'Life in general,' he says, 'is mobility itself.' It is a process constantly welling over upon itself, renewing itself endlessly, always progressive—in short, the very antithesis of the mechanical and stereotyped. Is it not therefore strange that he proposes to find in instinct the clue to its interpretation? For while life is opposed to mechanism, instinct, when passing into action, comes so close to automatism that it has been even resolved into compound reflex action. While life again is progressive, societies based upon instinct appear to stand still, incapable of further development. Such is admitted by Bergson to be the case with those admirably ordered but stereotyped societies into which bees or ants form themselves. How then can one hope to fathom life, the mobile and progressive, by an appeal to instinct, the immobile and stereotyped? Might it not be said, as against Bergson who contends that instinct is moulded on the very form of life, that where life has taken on the form of instinct it has also taken on something of the nature of a mechanism?

If instinct as a whole thus appears opposed to life, the logical character of the intuitive consciousness which guides instinctive action makes it unfitted to grasp the essential movement of life. For intuition cannot be generalized. The particular intuition which tells the organism how to behave in one situation will not tell it how to react in another and different situation. The same intuition, as Bergson notes, will not extend to a number of different objects. It applies only to one object or situation and often only to a restricted aspect of that.



It is far otherwise with the principles which intellect employs. For intellectual principles are universal, one and the same principle being capable of being extended to a variety of different circumstances. This contrast between intuition and intellect brings out at once the logical defects of the former. If intellect working with one and the same concept or principle can interpret a variety of situations, it is because it is capable of seeing an element of sameness amid all the different situations. Conversely, if intuition is forever limited in its application to a single object or situation it is because the consciousness which works with intuition is radically incapable of seeing sameness in different situations. Dealing wholly with the specific and particular, it never attains to a grasp of the universal.

To make this admission is surely to put an end to the contention that in intuition we have an instrument which will reveal to us life's secret. For is not life, as we follow the process of its development in the genealogical tree of evolutionary descent, the very incarnation of the universe? Life indeed is the everlasting realization of the ideal of the one in the many. Throwing itself into endless species and individuals, it appears as their many different lives. That is one side of the matter, the aspect of difference and plurality. But there is also the aspect of unity and sameness. If that original vital impetus which first invaded the domain of inert matter has subsequently distributed the force of its impulsion along many and diverse paths so that the history of evolution is symbolized by a branching tree rather than by a chain, it is still one and the same life-force which is always at work. Everywhere we are struck by the infinite diversity of the forms which life has assumed, everywhere by the fact that all individual lives are but modes of the one over-individual universal life. Charged from the outset, as Bergson affirms, with the infinity of the diverse psychical potentialities of the species and individuals which were yet to be, life realized all its latent possibilities by branching in many different directions without sacrificing the unity of its original concentrated form. And if this method of development is essential, if it is the essence of life to develop like a sheaf as Bergson assures us, will it not also be true from a logical standpoint that life's process is the progressive

realization of the one through the medium of the many? Life will be the supreme instance of that highest form of the universal which we call by the name of 'concrete identity.' Such being the logical character of life's development, in intuition which never grasps the universal, the one in the many, we shall never find the key to that process of life which, Bergson assures us, is life itself.

From this point we may return once again to intellect. Would it not seem that it is intellect and not intuition which is moulded on the very form of life? If life develops essentially as a one-in-many, does not intellect which expands itself in experience into a thousand different concepts, while still remaining self-identical, do the same? And is not each of those principles into which our intellect progressively distils its being an illustration of life's nature; for each is a unity which embraces a real manifold even as life itself does. In intellect indeed we seem to have a prolongation into clear consciousness of the sub-conscious logic of life's essential process. Like life which, Bergson shows us, produces the same organs by different means, our intellect is marked by its ability to devise, upon occasion, fresh means to encompass the same ends. And if those infinitely subtle adaptations which the history of evolution exhibits cannot be explained mechanically but are due to a peculiar psychic force called life, that force seems in all respects nearer to intelligence than to instinct. We may grant that the intelligence which is life moves for the most part in the realm of the subconscious, that it does not in the lower reaches of evolution understand its own process. But in so far as it has explicitly evolved in man a self-conscious intellect it has also evolved a key to the interpretation of itself at large. If evolution has culminated in the intellect of man and if life is the mainspring of evolution, the whole history of organic development appears as a prolonged effort of life to supply a key to its own interpretation whereby it will stand clearly revealed to itself.

Our conclusion therefore is the opposite of that which Bergson advocates. It is intellect which is moulded upon life and which, revealing to us the universal, the one-in-many, will also reveal to us the essential logic of life's self-development in organization. In the stereotyped and narrow character of



instinct we shall never find a clue to life's nature. If Bergson's main contention thus appears mistaken, is there no value in his work? To answer this question we should first make certain distinctions and abstractions in relation to his contentions. Let us set aside his false conception of intellect as merely analytic, and of life as purely contingent, and abstract also from his belief that it is life in particular which intellect cannot comprehend. We shall then see that his contention, when separated from all which makes it unique and specific, is reducible to the position that there are some aspects of reality which our understanding cannot truly comprehend. With this statement, in its purely general form, we cordially agree. In so far also as Bergson's insistence upon intuition may be taken as meaning that intellect must be supplemented by other forms of consciousness, there again we must agree. We feel that nothing less than man's whole consciousness is needed to comprehend the problems of existence. Nor is this untrue in relation to the specific study of life. We have insisted that intellect is competent to reveal to us life's essential process, the logic which underlies its operations. But there is more in a thing than its essence and there is more than logic in life. Feeling and emotion and sympathy may all find a place in this study. It is thus that we should understand Bergson's mistaken attempt to replace intellect by its mere opposite.

NORMAN J. SYMONS.

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THE MYSTIC.

They're with us yet! They're with us yet!  
Those spirits that have fled—  
Think you, in Heaven, they could forget  
The End to which our souls are set,  
By Right and Honour led?

Nay. Often in the thick of things,  
I've felt them overhead—  
And, through the deepest hell of things,  
They've carried me on rushing wings,  
Those Hosts of living Dead.

*A. Beatrice Hickson.*

## THE ONTARIO GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

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THE history of secondary education in Ontario falls into three well-defined periods. From 1807 to 1853, the period of the old Grammar School, we have an opportunity of studying some interesting attempts, inspired by the patriotic zeal of Governor Simcoe and guided by the vigorous hand of Dr. John Strachan, to reproduce in the forest of the New World secondary schools like those of England, independent of any government supervision, aiming at a classical curriculum, supported by a landed endowment and fees, intended only for boys, permeated with the religious atmosphere of the national church. The second period, from 1853 to 1871, was a period of transition. Upper Canada in 1853 was widely different from the Upper Canada of half a century before. The population had increased from about fifty thousand to nearly a million. Urban centres had become numerous. Several railways had been constructed and an area of railway expansion was just at hand. With better means of communication, newspapers had multiplied and material prosperity had brought a measure of comfort and leisure that stimulated a greater demand for facilities for higher education. In the political field the long struggle between the Legislative Assembly and the Executive had ended in the concession of responsible government and the new spirit was bound to pervade other parts of public life. In the field of education Dr. Ryerson's labours had resulted in a provincial system of popular common schools, putting elementary education within the reach of all, offering a generous curriculum, trained teachers, public supervision, and stimulating local initiative. The attempts to solve the University problem had resulted in the creation of a non-sectarian Provincial University and several independent denominational universities offering courses in Arts. There were generous facilities for college training and for elementary training. That the weak link in the chain was the secondary school is indicated alike by the fact that in 1849 from the whole 39 grammar schools only 8 students matriculated to the university, and from the existence of so many



private schools and academies offering secondary school work and boasting more pupils than the state-aided grammar schools could show. It was inevitable that where such generous state aid was given greater responsibility should be insisted on. During this period is seen the passing of the rather exclusive, independent, classical grammar school and the emergence in its place of the modern High School with a wide curriculum, taking its definite place in the state system, a people's college as well as a preparatory school for university or learned profession. The change was the work of Dr. Egerton Ryerson, guided largely by the advice of the Rev. George Paxton Young, for four years Inspector of Grammar Schools.

The third period—after 1871—saw the working out of this system of provincial High schools and Collegiate Institutes, with its nice balance between local and central support and control, its constantly developing curriculum, its rapid expansion in buildings and equipment, and enlarged provision for the professional training of teachers.

For twenty-five years after the United Empire Loyalists first settled in this province the needs of secondary as of primary education were met wholly by private enterprise. We have records of some twenty-two private schools in operation before 1800 and half as many more were opened within the next ten years. Of these private schools the earliest was opened at Kingston by Rev. John Stuart, father of Archdeacon Stuart, in 1786. The most famous was that of Dr. John Strachan, opened at Cornwall in 1803. While for the most part these taught mainly elementary work, several of them in the larger centres offered courses in Latin and Greek and Mathematics. They usually charged the not unreasonable fee of two dollars a month.

But the United Empire Loyalists, accustomed as they were to state or municipal support of schools in the colonies, were not slow to urge a similar policy in the new colony they were building up. As early as 1787 the petition of the settlers "from Point au Baudet on Lake St. Francis westward as far as Niagara" asked the Governor, Lord Dorchester, "for some assistance towards establishing a school in each district, viz., New Johnston, New Oswegatchie, Cataraqui, and Niagara, for

the purpose of teaching English, Latin, Arithmetic, and Mathematics." Ten years later, the Province of Upper Canada having in the meantime been created by the Constitutional Act of 1791, the Legislature of the Province preferred the same request in a more definite form "humbly imploring his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to direct his government in this province to appropriate a certain portion of the waste lands of the Crown as a fund for the establishment and support of a respectable Grammar School in each District thereof and also of a College or University for the instruction of youth in the different branches of liberal knowledge." As a result of this petition twelve townships, some 550,000 acres of Crown lands, were forthwith set apart for the endowment of schools.

It soon became evident, however, that so far as immediate aid to education was concerned, the land grant was of no value. Land was plentiful and low in price and as late as 1828 millions of acres were in course of grant by the Crown for almost nothing. Moreover, more than half the population were entitled from various causes to free grants. When land did begin to have value it was the University and Upper Canada College, not the Grammar Schools, which profited by it. Not until 1839 were land grants made available for the aid of secondary schools. Then, as we shall see later, a generous grant of 250,000 acres was definitely made for the purpose of establishing and supporting Grammar Schools. In the meantime other influences had procured a more immediate grant of government aid.

It is almost unnecessary to recall to the mind of the reader the political ideals of those who had charge of the early government of Upper Canada. Feeling keenly the hardships that had resulted in their self-imposed exile, they were determined to cherish the more in their new home the social and political ideals for which they had suffered. Governor Simcoe hoped to build up in the forests of Ontario a community which under a constitution which he considered to be "the image and transcript of the British Constitution" would hold firmly to an intimate union with Great Britain and reproduce her social system with its established church and its public schools in close alliance with the church. For him the pressing need of



the moment was the higher education of those who were to be leaders in the next generation. "Lower education," he says, "being less expensive, may in the meantime be provided by relations, and more remotely by school lands. The higher must be indebted to the liberality of the British government as, owing to the cheapness of education in the United States the gentlemen of Upper Canada will send their children there, which would tend to pervert their British principles." Writing to Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, in November, 1792, he says: "In respect to a just attention to the interests of religion and a provision for the education of the rising generation, who must take their due lead in society under the present constitution and principally fill up the offices of government . . . I only beg leave to refer you to my late dispatches upon these subjects." The authorities in Great Britain, however, were in no mind to undertake the ambitious scheme of founding in the new and scantily settled province a University that would be a small replica of Oxford or Cambridge, and Simcoe, whose heart was set on a University, could only lament their decision.

Simcoe's term as Lieutenant-Governor, 1791-1796, was, however, too brief to allow him to work out his scheme even so far as the secondary schools were concerned. In August, 1796, he left Canada never to return. Three years later, in August, 1799, there set sail from Greenock a young Scotch teacher who made valiant endeavor to work out Simcoe's ideal after Simcoe's own heart. The Grammar School Act of 1807 and the system it inaugurated were largely the work of Dr. John Strachan, the dominant figure in the early educational history of Upper Canada for more than thirty years.

The career of Bishop Strachan as champion of the claims of the Established Church of England to the Clergy Reserves, as member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, as first President of King's College, as founder of Trinity College, may be found in any general history of Canada. We are concerned here only with his relations to the Secondary Schools. A graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, and an experienced teacher, Mr. Strachan came to Canada as tutor in the family of the Hon. Richard Cartwright at Kingston. Here he speedily took other pupils and opened a highly successful school in

Kingston in 1800. Three years later, having in the meantime taken orders in the Church of England, he received a clerical appointment at Cornwall. His whole-hearted disposition, his boundless energy, and a genius for imparting knowledge, soon raised this school to the first rank among the schools of his day. Interesting evidence as to the wide extent of his influence as head of the Cornwall School is given by Bishop Fuller who had been one of his pupils:

"The Bishop," he says, "had a great faculty not only for attaching his scholars to him, but also for inducing them to apply themselves most assiduously to their studies. He told me that he made it a rule during the time he kept school to watch closely every new boy, and, at the end of a fortnight, to note down in a book his estimate of the boys who had passed through his hands.

"He was never afraid of having his dignity lowered by liberties taken with him; and he always felt every confidence in his position and entered warmly and personally into many of the boys' amusements and thus gained an immense influence over them. This influence over his pupils has been shown in the fact that almost all of them embraced his principles; and the love and affection for him and of his celebrated Cornwall school was shown many years ago when the surviving members thereof presented him with an address and a most beautiful and costly candelabra. Nor did his more recent scholars entertain less affection for him, though they never proved it so substantially as did those of his Cornwall school. . . . He was an excellent teacher. His scholars were well grounded in their work. The grammar was well mastered and every rule thereof deeply impressed on the memory. Every lesson was thoroughly dissected and everything connected with it thoroughly understood before we passed on to another lesson."

Among the "surviving members" who signed the address we find names familiar to every student of the early history of Ontario: Sir J. B. Robinson, Sir J. B. Macaulay, Very Rev. Dean Bethune, Rt. Rev. Bishop Bethune, Hon. Chief Justice McLean, Hon. Justice Jones, Hon. W. B. Robinson, Hon. G. S. Boulton, Rev. W. Macaulay, Judge George Ridout, Surveyor General Chewett, Inspector General Markland, Sheriff McLean, P. Vankoughnet, S. P. Jarvis, etc. In 1813 Mr. Strachan



moved to York and became master of the Home District Grammar School there.

Both in methods and curriculum Mr. Strachan was conspicuously in advance of the usual school practice of his day. He had once thought of becoming a teacher of Science and tells us that his bitter disappointment in the failure of a scheme to appoint him assistant to the Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow made him the more disposed to accept employment in Canada. So the course of study in his schools, while mainly classical, was never exclusively so. Boys in the first years of the course, from 7 to 9 years of age, were, according to Dr. Strachan's own account of the practice in his school, "carefully exercised in reading their own language and continued to be so exercised until they were fit to be removed into the elocution class. . . . The classes in Civil History, Geography, Natural History, English, Grammar, and Composition, embracing a period of five or six years, cannot fail of producing great intellectual improvement. Besides the number of branches recommended in addition to classical literature, is not only suitable to the present age, but affords almost a certainty that every pupil will find some one at least adapted to his taste and capacity and in which he may excel."

But the conduct of a single school, even of so ambitious and successful a school as that at Cornwall, did not absorb all the energies of the Reverend preceptor and we find him urging the adoption of the system of provincial aid to higher education that Simcoe had advocated. Sir John Beverly Robinson, speaking at the laying of the corner stone of King's College in 1842, says of Bishop Strachan: "As I well remember, it was at your suggestion and upon the earnest instance of your Lordship, that the Statute was procured to which we are indebted for the District Grammar Schools throughout Upper Canada."

This "Act to Establish Public Schools in each and every District of this Province," which passed in 1807 apparently without active opposition either in the Legislative Assembly or in the Legislative Council, remained in force with some amendments for forty-six years and laid the foundation of our system of secondary schools. The type of school intended to be founded by the Act was, of course, not the "Public

School" with which the present generation in Ontario is so familiar. It was the type of the great English Public School like Eton or Rugby, affording secondary education to those who would become the leaders of the next generation, and using for this purpose a curriculum based on the classics.

The Act of 1807 established eight Public or Grammar schools, one in each district. They were to be supported not by the proceeds of a land grant but by a direct government grant of £800 a year from which £100 was to be paid annually, as a salary, to the teacher of each school. The Lieutenant-Governor was to appoint the Trustees, not less than five for each school, apparently for an indefinite period. The trustees were to examine and appoint the teacher, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, and might dismiss him. The trustees were not required even to make an annual report to the Lieutenant-Governor. The trustees had every liberty in selecting the teacher and, subject to the trustees, the teacher had every liberty in developing the school according to his own ideals. A clause in the Act, limiting its continuance to four years, was repealed the following year.

It was doubtless hoped that these schools would repeat the success of Dr. Strachan's school at Cornwall, but the outcome showed that this was too much to hope. The Grammar Schools that developed under this Act did, however, reproduce in many respects their English prototypes. They were generally boarding schools though day pupils were admitted. They charged considerable fees. In the Johnstown district school (Brockville) the charge for board and tuition in the usual branches was £30 per annum (1839); for instruction in Spelling, Reading, and English Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, History, and Writing, £4 per annum; for instruction in Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Composition, etc., £5 per annum; quite evidently these were not schools for the masses of the people. The teachers were generally clergymen, usually of the Church of England. The curriculum was to consist mainly of Latin and Greek, but experience soon showed that most of the energies of the masters must be devoted to more elementary work.

But before noticing further the work and influence of these schools, it would be well to note briefly the principal



amendments to the Act of 1807 until its repeal in 1853. We pass over for the present the repeated but unavailing attempts of the Legislative Assembly to repeal the whole Act as its defects and lack of popular appeal became evident. It was probably a concession to the feeling voiced in the protest from the midland district that these schools were only for the wealthy that led the Grammar School amendment Bill, 1819, to provide that "in order to extend the benefit of a liberal education to promising children of the poorer inhabitants, the trustees of each and every (common) school (as established in 1816) shall have the power of sending scholars, not exceeding ten in number, to be taught gratis at the respective district (Grammar) school." But this attempt to apply the English scholarship idea to meet the situation quite failed of its purpose. Few scholars were ever nominated, for, as the schools were few and scattered, the item of fees alone was not the only expense that commonly stood in the way. The Amendment Act of 1819 further provided for a slightly greater degree of responsibility of the trustees. They were required to make annual reports to the Lieutenant-Governor and to direct and be present at an annual public examination of the school. A curious commentary on the probable attendance at some schools is contained in the further proviso that "to every teacher hereafter to be appointed there shall be only £50 paid unless the average number of scholars exceeds ten." It is probable that this Act of 1819 also owed its inspiration and substance to Dr. Strachan. As early as 1815 most of its provisions, e.g. the annual report to the Governor, the admission of poor children, the public examination, are recommended in a report drawn up by Dr. Strachan and addressed, to Sir George Drummond, President of Upper Canada.

A further attempt at organizing the District Schools and Common Schools as on a basis of greater uniformity was the creation in 1823, by Sir Peregrine Maitland's Executive Council with the sanction of Earl Bathurst, of a general Board of Education for the Province. This also follows a recommendation in Dr. Strachan's report of 1815. Though the Legislative Assembly was not consulted with regard to the measure, it gave an implied and probably an unwilling assent by the passage, in 1824, of a Common School Act in which the functions

of the General Board are mentioned and recognized. This General Board appointed consisted of Dr. Strachan, who was chairman, The Hon. Joseph Wells, M.L.C., The Hon. George H. Markland, M.L.C., The Rev. Robert Addison, an Anglican clergyman and teacher at Niagara, John Beverly Robinson, who was Attorney-General, and Thomas Ridout, Surveyor-General. Growing opposition in the Legislative Assembly to the existence of this General Board of Education which was not responsible to the Assembly resulted not from its conduct of the Grammar Schools, but from its attempted introduction of Bell's System of National Schools in connection with the established church as part of the Common School system of the Province, and from the attitude of its leading members towards the much vexed question of the nature and control of the contemplated provincial university. It was finally abolished by Executive action in 1832 at the request of the Assembly and the control of schools and school lands reverted once more directly to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. In the meantime we owe to it a very interesting report by Dr. Strachan on the condition of the Grammar Schools at the time.

In 1828 Dr. Strachan, as President of the General Board, visited in person all the District Grammar Schools. The number of schools had increased to eleven with a total of 372 pupils. In several he found the attendance thin and discouraging, but in others the business of instruction was well conducted and the system merited his approval. He mentions, however, only three as being in a prosperous condition. The condition of affairs moved him to submit to the Board a uniform outline of study for the Grammar Schools "for boys from seven to sixteen years of age." He notes that "in some places girls are admitted. This happens from the want of good female schools and perhaps from the more rapid progress which children are supposed to make under experienced and able schoolmasters; . . . it is, nevertheless, an inconvenience of a temporary nature which will gradually pass away as the population increases in wealth and numbers."

By 1839 the number of District (Grammar) schools had increased to twelve; but they were still too few and too expensive to satisfy the growing demand for something more than elementary school training. A committee of the Legis-



lative Assembly on Education, which submitted a report in 1829, objected further to the alleged partiality shown to the Established Church of England to the exclusion of other denominations in the appointment of trustees and teachers. They point out too that as the schools are so few, parents have to send their children to board and so are tempted to send them to the United States where living is cheaper. The creation of Upper Canada College in 1830 and the exclusive character of its curriculum and management had served only to accentuate the difference between the popular demands as voiced in the Legislative Assembly for more widely diffused and practically useful means of education and the ideals of Governor Simcoe and Bishop Strachan.

The Grammar School Act of 1839 was a concession to a popular feeling that the land grant of 1797 hitherto used only for the proposed University and for Upper Canada College should now be made in part available for what was felt to be its main original purpose, the wider dissemination of secondary schools. The preamble states that "the advancement of education will be better promoted by devoting a portion of the annual revenues of the University of King's College to the support of Upper Canada College and of the Grammar Schools for several years to come than by the erection of a University in the present state of education in the province." Having thus postponed the claims of the University, the Act goes on to set apart 250,000 acres of the Crown Lands for the maintenance of Grammar Schools and the erection of buildings. With respect to the erection of buildings the grant of £200 is made contingent on the provision of a like sum by the locality. The attempt already made by the creation of a General Board of Education in 1823 to secure something like a uniform system of schools is repeated by the provision empowering the Council of King's College not only to manage the landed endowment but to make rules and regulations for the government of the schools. Provision for increasing the number of schools was made, a clause allowing a grant of £100 per annum to two other schools in the same district provided they could show 60 students in attendance and were at least six miles from the original school in the county town.

In accordance with the Act the Council of King's College issued in 1840 the first Regulations governing secondary schools in this province. They are evidently inspired by the recommendation of the McCaul Commission on Education, 1838, which had been appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Arthur, at the request of the Legislative Assembly after the publication of Lord Durham's Report. It had pointed out among other things that "no (Grammar School) master should be appointed without examination; that this examination should refer to his qualifications not only as a scholar but as a teacher, for it often happens that excellent scholars are wholly unfit for the office of teacher." A uniform system and curriculum is to be adopted the same, as far as practicable, as that pursued in the Upper Canada College. The Council offers a committee, consisting of The Hon. Rev. Dr. Strachan, Rev. Dr. McCaul, and the Hon. Vice-Chancellor Robert Jameson, to examine candidates for the position of Grammar School masters and report on their qualifications. The regulations offer grants of £50 per annum towards the salary of assistant masters in the Grammar Schools, if appointed with the approval of the Council and if the Regulations of the Council are observed in the school. They further provided for the appointment of Grammar School Inspectors, but no effect was ever given to this provision. Further regulations looking towards greater uniformity were issued in 1841 and prescribed regular courses of study and definite text-books for each; half holidays on Wednesday and Saturday; a programme of daily work to be drawn up by the Headmaster and placed in the schoolroom; fees are not to exceed £9 a year; each boy on leaving school is to receive a certificate; the Headmaster is to keep a daily register, etc.

Already we see the English system of independent schools passing away and the general features of centralized administration becoming apparent. But the change was not to come without protest. The personnel and character of the College of King's Council was largely that of the former General Board of Education and it was not popular. The Grammar School Boards generally raised strenuous objections which cannot be more concisely expressed than in the words of a protest of certain of the trustees of the Gore District Grammar School



at Hamilton in 1841: "The Council of King's College, although they do not openly and directly interfere with the powers of existing Trustees, are nevertheless using means which, if acceded to, must necessarily, though indirectly, result in their acquiring the patronage, direction and control of all the (Grammar) schools in the Province."

"We object to the management and control of Grammar Schools, instituted and endowed for the benefit of every individual in the country, without regard to sect, denomination or party, being invested in a Body of so partial and sectarian a character as that of the Council of King's College; and, because we can perceive evident marks in the steps which that Body have already taken, of a desire to grasp the patronage of those schools, gain the control over them and organize them upon a particular system, not adapted to the wants, conformable to the wishes or available for the benefit of a large portion of the people of the Province."

Such protests and the feeling in the Legislative Assembly that instead of lessening the authority of the Council of King's College, they had materially added to it, resulted in the repeal of some of its most important features in 1841. The authority of King's College to make rules and regulations was definitely withdrawn, though the management and sale of the school lands was left under its control. The other provisions were to remain in force. The independent schools, unhampered by regulation, inspection, or external examination tests, had another twelve years before them in which to make good. How far they succeeded in overcoming the temptation to follow the line of least resistance, we shall presently see.

Successive amendments passed in 1846 and in 1851 made still easier the multiplication of schools, by lowering the number of scholars required for an additional school in a county first from 50 to 30, and then from 30 to 20, and by abolishing the provision that the additional school should be at least six miles away from the county town. Boards of Trustees were not slow to take advantage of the additional government aid offered, as this, with the fees charged to students, commonly supported the school with little or no local contribution. In 1844 the Grammar Schools had numbered 25. In 1850 they numbered 39. At last the legislation of 1853 definitely ended

the unorganized, independent local Grammar Schools and merged them into that great educational system which, under the administrative genius of Ryerson, had done so much to put an elementary education within the reach of all and to stimulate local responsibility and support.

In the new era of responsible government it was an anomaly that large sums of public money should be expended year after year by Boards of Trustees whose responsibility was merely nominal. Moreover, it was evident by this time that so far as curriculum was concerned, Grammar Schools had quite lost their exclusive character as classical schools. Fifty-six per cent. of them received pupils who were unable to write. Not one pupil in six was studying Latin and of these only about one in twenty was far enough advanced to read Caesar and Virgil. These were in fact largely schools maintained with government aid by a few well-to-do and influential families in the locality. Under such circumstances it was inevitable that these schools, competing with and thereby injuring the neighboring common schools, should challenge the attention of the Superintendent of Education. In his School Report for 1850 he, for the first time, seriously attacks the problem:

"The remarks made in the last preceding section of this Report on the classification of schools, suggest the necessity and importance of a change in the system of County Grammar Schools, or rather the necessity of forming and elevating these schools into something like a system. In some instances, the Classical and Mathematical departments of them are doubtless conducted with ability, and they possess a high reputation; and so would private schools taught by the same individuals and established in the same places; nor do I desire to impugn, or undervalue, the character of the Grammar Schools generally. But, as at present established, they form no part of a General System of Public Instruction; and the manner in which public money is expended for their support is unjust to the larger portion of the community; is, to a great extent, a waste in itself, and an injury to the Common Schools. It injures the Common Schools in the neighborhood of the Grammar Schools, as the elementary branches which are taught in the former are also taught in the latter. Thus are pupils, who ought to be learning the elements of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and



Geography in the Common School, introduced into the Grammar School; and a teacher who receives one hundred pounds (£100) per annum as teacher of a Classical School, is largely occupied in teaching the A, B, C, of Common School instruction, to the injury of the Common School, and to the still greater injury of the real and proper objects of the Grammar School. It would be absurd to suppose that the £100 per annum were granted towards the support of a Classical master to teach the same things that are taught by the Common School teacher, and that by aid of public money also. Making the Grammar School a rival of the Common Schools in its vicinity is as incompatible with the proper office of a Grammar School as it is prejudicial to the interests of the Common Schools. Pupils, who are learning the first elements of an English education, are sent and admitted to the Grammar School because it is thought to be more respectable than the Common School, and especially when Grammar School fees are made comparatively high to gratify this feeling, and to place the Grammar School beyond the reach of the multitude. Thus does the Grammar School Fund operate to a great extent as a contribution to the rich, and in support of injurious distinctions in teaching and acquiring the elements of English education, and not to the special encouragement of the study of the elementary Classics and Mathematics. Thus is the Common School injured in its position; and influences are withdrawn from it which ought to be exerted in its behalf, and which are most important to give it the elevation and efficiency, which are requisite to enable it to secure the standing and fulfil the functions of the English College of the People. The Grammar School should be a connecting link between the Common Schools and the University; the Common Schools should be feeders of the Grammar Schools, as these should be feeders of the University. The Grammar School, instead of attempting to do the work of the humblest Common School, should be the first step of promotion from its highest classes. But this cannot be done, until the Grammar Schools are placed as much under the control of local authorities as are the Common Schools; until their appropriate field of labour is defined, and an effective responsibility and supervision instituted. Each Grammar School might be made the High School of the county

and town within which it is situated, and have its classes filled up from the highest classes of the Common Schools of such county and town. The liberal provision made in aid of Grammar Schools would then be expended in unison with the provision made in aid of Common Schools—would advance, instead of impairing the interests of Common Schools—would accomplish the real objects of the Grammar School Fund, and make the Grammar Schools, as well as the University and Common Schools, an integral part of the General System of Public Instruction for the Country.”

The consolidated School Act of 1853-5 which followed these recommendations definitely ended the era of the independent Grammar Schools and merged them into the provincial system. The outstanding features of that Act were these: The appointment of trustees was transferred from the provincial government to the county councils, thus emphasizing the idea of local responsibility. The Council of Public Instruction was to make regulations regarding the courses of study, thus finally achieving the idea of centralized control which Dr. Strachan had twice sought to initiate. £250 was provided (1855) to pay inspectors and systematic inspection by the central authority had here its beginning and opened the way for all further reforms. Definite qualifications were required for principals. They must hold a University degree, or a certificate from the Board of Examiners appointed by the Council of Public Instruction.

So far as their financial support was concerned the Grammar School Fund was divided among the counties on the basis of population and the councils might, if they wished, levy municipal taxation for their support. Most of them, however, never gave a cent. In the interests of economy, provision was made for the union of Grammar and Common school, a provision which turned out to have far-reaching consequences. An attempt to provide professional instruction for the masters was made by the grant (1855) of £1000 per annum for establishment of a short-lived model Grammar School at Toronto (1858-63).

The new legislation speedily worked improvement. The regulations of the Council of Public Instruction giving effect to the Act, provided for entrance examinations each of the



four terms for pupils in English studies and twice a year for pupils in classical studies. A regular programme of studies was issued for five grades; eight departments of study were specified. These included Latin, Greek, French, English, Mathematics, Geography, History, Physical Science, Writing, Drawing, Vocal Music, and Bookkeeping. Lists of text-books were prescribed and provided for sale by the educational depository. Class teaching was prescribed.

In 1855 the first High School inspectors, Thomas J. Robertson, of the Normal School, and the Rev. Wm. Ormiston, were appointed and made a systematic inspection of the 65 Grammar Schools. In 1856 the Superintendent's Report marks already some improvement. The new entrance examination had already cut off 340 pupils. Nearly a third now were studying Latin. But for the most part the Grammar Schools were still merely the more respectable and advanced Common Schools of the town.

To raise the Grammar School to its proper rank was no easy task. The inspectors reported from year to year that teachers did not keep to the programme, that in many cases parents desired their children to take only one or two studies. Rev. Wm. Ormiston reports—1857—that “in some of the county Grammar Schools females are admitted, and a few are studying the classics with great success.” The report of the Grammar School inspector for 1858 shows marked improvement and some excellent schools, yet among the 75 schools which it reports, a third of which had less than ten classical pupils, twenty-five had not graduates for principals, and twenty-seven held classes in rented and temporary rooms or in altogether unsuitable houses.

Reminiscences of old schoolmasters of those days tell us of Grammar Schools held sometimes in rooms rented and fitted up by the principal at his own expense; sometimes a room or two in the public school, an old tavern, the second story of a business block, temperance hall, the town court house and jail, an old printing office, a private house, the Old Central Hotel building; sometimes in the master's private residence. The Rev. A. E. Miller thus describes the old Toronto Grammar School, 1854: “On the ground floor were the class rooms and the head master and his family lived in the upper story.

There was an old box stove in the principal's room, large enough to contain several five foot sticks of wood. On very cold days it was no uncommon thing for masters and pupils to gather round the stove. The desks were arranged around the room against the wainscoting so that the backs of the pupils were towards the master."

Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, Inspector of Grammar Schools in 1859, reported that more than half the schools were union schools and generally union schools were merely common schools with five or six classical students appended to them, to secure the Grammar School grant, £50 to £60. It was a fraud not uncommon for union boards to obtain a headmaster with a University degree or Grammar School certificates and require him to do Common School work so that the Board might be enabled to draw the double government allowance and save local taxation. Not unfrequently Common and Grammar School departments were taught by one master. "The desire of one or two parents to secure for their children a liberal education gives birth to a Grammar School. It soon becomes so sickly that it is saved from immediate death only by merging itself in the vitality of the Common School" (which could levy taxes) and "at present few or no Grammar Schools in the eastern section exact the entrance examination and have carried out the programme prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction. The miserable pittance usually dealt out to a Grammar School master compels him to draw into his net all the pupils he possibly can. As a rule he depends entirely on the government grant and fees which render the average income between \$600 and \$700." Hence arose constant change of masters and, therefore, of text-books. Generally no regular curriculum of studies was observed, but it was left entirely to the whim or fancy of the pupil or parent to determine what particular studies each boy would carry on. But the figures of 1860, 53 matriculants in Arts with 41 taking the law society examinations and 9 the surveyor's examination, show that the Grammar Schools were more nearly fulfilling their supposed function.

The inspectors, however, yearned for greater uniformity and higher standards. From time to time they urge uniform compulsory text-books, compulsory courses, compulsory leav-



ing examinations and special training of teachers. In 1862 the Rev. Wm. Ormiston, inspecting western schools, notes "as worthy of remark" that "many of the Common School teachers attend these schools."

This is the scene on which Dr. George Paxton Young entered in 1864 by which time the number of schools had risen to 108, though only 95 reported that year. He was for four years sole inspector. The general weaknesses in organization were fairly obvious. The schools, though controlled by the county councils, were essentially local schools drawing by far the greater number of their pupils from the city, town, or village in which the school was situated. As a consequence their financial support had never been generous. Out of the \$90,000 spent for Grammar School purposes in 1860, \$45,000 was legislative grant and fund, \$16,000 was municipal grants, and \$20,000 fees. County councils were slow to give aid to the Grammar School, which was chiefly of benefit to the city or town in which it was situated; the city or town refused aid because the school was a county institution. Evidently it was necessary to find some way of increasing local support and local responsibility. Some of the Grammar School Boards asked that they have the right to levy taxes as the Common School trustees had. Inspector Young reported unfavorably. He recommended that county councils be required, however, to furnish buildings and furniture and contribute a certain sum annually. This he thought would limit the reckless creation of new schools, financed almost wholly by government grants and fees, "needless and contemptible and required by no popular demand."

A second great Grammar School Act, that of 1865, attempted to solve these problems. Its main provisions were as follows: In order to fix local responsibility cities were to be considered counties for Grammar School purposes and were to have control of their own schools. Towns and incorporated villages were to appoint half of the trustees of their schools, the other half being still appointed by the county councils. The principle of the Common School law, which declared that each municipality receiving a share in the Legislative School Grant, should, apart from fees, contribute an amount equal to the aid received, was now made to apply to the Grammar

Schools, although to start with they were required to add only half the grant. Grants were to be paid on the basis of attendance. In order to secure that the Grammar Schools should restrict themselves to Grammar School work, pupils were to be admitted subject to examination by the Inspector of Grammar Schools, and in computing grants on the basis of attendance subsequent regulations provided that boys only were to be counted and they must take Latin or Greek. The standard for teachers was raised by the requirement that henceforth only graduates of British Universities should be eligible for appointments as principal. Encouragement for military instruction was offered by the provision of a grant of \$50 per annum to any school the headmaster of which should have passed a preparatory examination in the subjects of the military course and in which a class of not less than five pupils have been given Elementary Military Instruction for at least six months. This, as Dr. Ryerson afterwards pointed out, would enable the schools to become feeders to some Canadian Sandhurst, or West Point, Military Academy, yet to be established.

Henceforth the Grammar School was to take its part as a stage in the educational ladder. The distinction between elementary and secondary education still familiar to European countries disappeared from the Ontario system. The regulations of the Council of Public Instruction which we have mentioned, brought at once to a head the legal status of girls attending High School. It stated "To afford every possible facility for learning French, girls may at the option of the trustees be admitted to any Grammar School on passing the preliminary and final entrance examination required for the admission of boys. Girls thus admitted will take French (and not Latin or Greek) and the English subjects of the Classical course for boys, but they are not to be returned or recognized as pupils pursuing either of the prescribed programmes of studies for Grammar Schools." In spite of the regulation, whose legality was at once challenger, most of the schools urged girls as well as boys into the Grammar School division and set them at a nominal study of Latin. To this principle of co-education in secondary schools both Young and Ryerson were opposed, though Young was prepared to admit that



probably co-education was better for girls than no education at all.

The Act of 1865 was in many respects successful. Local initiative and responsibility were increased. Popular feeling against the Grammar Schools began to disappear when they ceased to be the preserve of the few. Accommodations rapidly improved. But the new system of paying grants on the basis of the attendance presented a temptation to urge pupils into Grammar School grades that the most diligent effort of the inspector was hardly able to cope with, though Young, in his first examination, seems to have rejected more than half of the entrants who had been admitted. Yet his test was a mild one. It was confined entirely to English grammar and required only the parsing of such sentences as, "The mother loved her daughter dearly;" "John ran to school very quickly;" "She knew her lesson remarkably well." Considering the basis of the grant it is not surprising that Young found practically no students taking the English course.

It was soon evident that so far as curriculum was concerned the new act was a failure. The tendency to union schools was increased rather than diminished (for the clause requiring local sources to add one half to the grant did not apply to them). The entrance regulations were inefficient. All the pupils of union schools, with the exception of those in most rudimentary stages of English, tended to be drawn into the Grammar School department and here compulsory Latin offered a course utterly unfitted for the great majority. The result was the degradation of the Common Schools, for the possibility of a good English education was made virtually conditional on the study of Latin. To give the same grant for girls as for boys as the High School teachers in convention so urgently demanded would only make matters worse and would be decidedly unjust to the majority of Grammar Schools which did not admit girls or those which had higher ideals than a maximum government grant.

The solution Young finally advocated was one which was to revolutionize the aim and purpose of the Grammar School. "The time has come," he says, 1867, "for the organization of a different sort of school from either the Grammar School or existing Common School." The idea of the classical school

must give place to the High School of the people, laying stress on an advanced study of English grammar and literature and of physical science. "The establishment—either through a development of our Common School system, or through a modification of our Grammar School system, or partly in the one way and partly in the other—of High Schools in which the English language and literature and physical science should be taught on the plan described, and in which other branches should receive the attention to which they are entitled, would be one of the greatest services that could be rendered to the province. It would be an immediate inestimable boon to thousands of families, and would be certain to lead ultimately to great social results. Teachers and school trustees, to whom I have made known my views, have almost invariably approved of them very warmly; and only two difficulties have been suggested, namely, that the Common Schools are not generally conducted in such a manner as to prepare pupils for entering on the work of the High Schools, and that the instructions given in the Normal School are not such as to qualify the teachers sent forth from that institution for taking charge of High Schools."

One difficulty remained; how was the Grammar School grant to be divided if compulsory Latin went overboard? His solution was one that did not endear him to the next generation of High School masters; more inspection and payment by results. His successor, Rev. J. G. McKenzie, added the weight of his authority to these suggestions and in the third great Act, 1871, provided for carrying them into effect.

The Act to Improve the Common and Grammar Schools of the Province of Ontario, 1871, abolished even the name of the old Grammar School. Henceforth they were to be known as High Schools. Latin was no longer compulsory. Both boys and girls were to be admitted, and the aim was now to teach "the higher branches of an English and Commercial Education and also the Latin, Greek, French, and German languages to those pupils whose parents and guardians may desire them." High School Boards at last were made financially independent. They might henceforth require from the municipal councils such funds as they should require for accommodation or support of the school over and above government grants and fees.



A definite dividing line between Public and High Schools was made by the creation of an Entrance Examination to be conducted by a Board consisting of the local inspector of Public Schools, the principal of the High School, and the chairman of the High School Board. The minimum grant for a High School was to be \$400, and it was to depend largely on the proficiency of the students in various branches of study.

The tradition of the classical Grammar School for boys was preserved for a time by the recognition of a class of High Schools to be known as Collegiate Institutes. These must have a daily average of 60 male pupils studying Latin or Greek. They must also engage four masters. They were to be encouraged by a minimum grant of \$750 per annum.

It was left to later High School inspectors to wrestle with the problem of how the efficiency of the pupils for the purposes of the grant was to be determined, how payment by results was to be made effective. Succeeding inspectors, Rev. J. D. MacKenzie and James A. McLellan, worked out schemes of classification along the line suggested by Professor Young, but the opposition was too strong. At length in 1876 the burden was thrown on the "intermediate examinations." The school courses were divided into Lower School and Upper School. Pupils that had passed the Intermediate examinations formed the Upper School. This examination was to be equal in point of difficulty to that which candidates for Second Class certificates underwent and about one-fifth of the total grant to the school depended on the attendance of pupils in the Upper School. Tests were held twice a year, in June and December. The first fruits of payment by results was the introduction of the problem of examination pressure. After some ten years' experience payment by results died a natural death. The problems henceforth to be faced were those already mentioned as characteristic of the third period, the period of the development of the Ontario High School, a history which has yet to be written.

W. E. MACPHERSON.

## THE BEGINNING OF MELODRAMA.

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MELODRAMA, after having languished for twenty years, its former glories all faded and unremembered, is again strong in the pride and power of a renewed youth. Its triumphs are greater than ever. Where once it thrilled its thousands in the cheaper theatres of large places, it now fascinates its tens of thousands in the moving picture houses of every city, town, and village. The great staple of entertainment wherever crowds gather at the "movies" is either primitive farce, with unlimited clowning, or old time melodrama, with all its essential features save the spoken words. It is, therefore, timely to ask what melodrama really is and to investigate the conditions under which it came into existence.

### I.

A melodrama and a melodramatic piece are not the same in present meaning or past history. The adjective is of much wider application than the noun. It characterizes particular scenes or speeches or events in plays that no one would think of calling melodrama. Violent and sensational passages, transgressing the bounds of Art and Nature, have enlivened dramatic literature since the days of Greek tragedy. Euripides was not afraid of them. Seneca revelled in them and passed on his enthusiasm to the Elizabethans. It was in part the occasional annoyance of this element that caused Carlyle's moan: "Alas, Shakespeare had to write for the Globe Playhouse; his great soul had to crush itself, as it could, into that and no other mould."

The word *melodrama*, as used to-day, denotes, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "a dramatic piece characterized by sensational incident and violent appeals to the emotions, but with a happy ending." This description, unduly concise and general, as dictionary definitions so often must be, fails to suggest several of the features that for a hundred years have distinguished melodrama as a *genre*. A series of scenes "characterized by sensational incident and violent appeals to the emotions," even when given a happy ending, may



not make a melodrama. The same description would apply to many a tragi-comedy of Elizabethan or Restoration days. Yet melodrama, as a distinct form, was unknown till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its nature will appear as its history is studied.

In the latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* the following account is given of the origin of melodrama:

"As the word implies [*μέλος*, *music*], 'melodrama' is properly a dramatic mixture of music and action, and was first applied to a form of dramatic musical composition in which music accompanied the spoken words and the action, but in which there was no singing. The first example of such a work has generally been taken to be the *Pygmalion* of J. J. Rousseau, produced in 1775. This is the source of romantic dramas depending on sensational incident with exaggerated appeals to conventional sentiment rather than on play of character, and in which *dramatis personae* follow conventional types—the villain, the hero wrongfully charged with crime, the persecuted heroine, the adventuress, etc."

There is a good deal here that is wrong or misleading. In the early melodrama, the spoken words were rarely accompanied by music, and songs were common. The spoken words of *Pygmalion* were in no case accompanied by music; and whatever relation Rousseau's *scène lyrique*, as he called his piece, may have borne to the musical side of melodrama, it assuredly bore none to its sensational plot with the inevitable hero, heroine, and villain. The writer for the *Encyclopaedia* seems not to have realized that the word *melodrama* has been used at various periods to designate very different and essentially unrelated productions. In its etymological sense of musical drama it has been applied at times to Greek tragedy, to various types of opera, and to pantomime; but the dramatic *genre* which originated about 1800 and which appropriated the name of melodrama to its exclusive use employed music only as an adventitious feature. Music as a characteristic element has long since disappeared; the *play* was and is the thing.

Since, however, there are \*those who consider that modern melodrama begins with *Pygmalion*, some account must be

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\*It is true that Geoffroy, the leading professional French critic when melodrama was developing, once wrote as follows: "Qui l'eût cru que ces tragédies des Boulevards [melodramas] avoient pour père un aussi fameux philosophe que Jean-Jacques Rousseau." (*Journal des*

given of this production and of Rousseau's purpose in writing it. The text consists of a long monologue spoken by Pygmalion, the sculptor, and broken only by a little action, by pauses for reflection, and, at the end, by a few words uttered by Galatea when the statue has become animate. The sculptor begins with a lament that the fire of his genius is extinguished. Then he turns to the veiled statue of Galatea, fearing that his admiration for it has caused his distraction. He glories in the thought of this perfect work; he draws aside the veil and examines it anew, fearing some fault may still exist, but he can find none. Strange agitation seizes him as he approaches and touches the figure; his tools drop from his hands. His emotion mounts steadily. He would give Galatea his own life if he could. Then he reflects: "What am I saying, O heaven! If I were she, I could not see her; I should not be he who loves her." In his distraction he prays to the gods for a miracle. A sudden calm now falls upon him, broken in a moment by the fear of delirium when the figure seems to him to show signs of life. The piece concludes as follows:\*

*Galatea* (touches herself and says): I.

*Pygmalion* (transported): I.

*Galatea* (touching herself again): It is I.

*Pygmalion*: Ravishing illusion which passes even to my ears, ah! never abandon my senses.

*Galatea* (taking a step or two, and touching a piece of marble): This is no longer I.

(Pygmalion, in agitation, in transports which he can scarcely restrain, follows all her movements, listens to her, observes her with an eager attention which scarcely permits him to breathe. Galatea advances towards him and looks at him; he rises instantly, extends his arms, and regards her with ecstasy. She lays her hand on him; he starts violently, takes her hand, presses it to his heart, and covers it with burning kisses.)

*Débats*, Aug. 28, 1805.) But Geoffroy was not here thinking of the plot of melodramas. With plot in mind he wrote a little later: "C'est . . . la corruption de la tragédie qui a fait éclore le mélodrame, et pour trouver les origines du mal, il faut remonter jusqu'au temps où l'anglomanie a dénaturé notre scène tragique . . . alors le public, blasé sur le pathétique vrai et naturel, est devenu avide de situations bizarres et forcées." (*Journal des Débats*, July 11, 1811.)

\*I have thought it best to translate all the French passages which I quote in the body of this article.



*Galatea* (with a sigh): Ah! still I.

*Pygmalion*: Yes, dear and charming object, yes, worthy masterpiece of my hands, of my heart, and the gods, it is thou, it is thou alone: I have given thee all my being; I shall live only through thee.

Rousseau wrote *Pygmalion* as an experiment in musical drama. He himself has given full explanations:

"Persuaded that the French language, destitute of accent, is not suitable for music, nor above all for recitative, I have imagined a kind of drama in which the words and the music, instead of being associated, are heard in succession, and in which the spoken phrase is in some sort announced and prepared for by the musical phrase. The scene of *Pygmalion* is an example of this kind of composition, which has had no imitators. In perfecting this design, one would combine the double advantage of relieving the actor by frequent periods of rest, and of offering the French spectator the kind of melodrama [used here in the etymological sense of musical drama] best suited to his language. . . . Thus this kind of work would be a *genre* midway between simple declamation and true melodrama [i.e., musical drama; opera], of which it will never attain the beauty."<sup>‡</sup>

To the above passage should be added two sentences from Rousseau's definition of *Récitatif obligé* in his *Dictionnaire de Musique*:\* "These alternating passages of recitative and melody, clothed with all the dazzling splendor of the orchestra, are the most touching, most ravishing, most energetic in all modern music. The actor, agitated, transported by a passion which does not permit him to say everything, stops, hesitates, makes pauses during which the orchestra speaks for him."

In *Pygmalion*, then, Rousseau was concerned with exploiting his theories as to the best method of employing music in connection with the harsh French language. Goethe, who heard it at Weimar, believed it would revolutionize opera. That this method of using music in the pauses of speech is responsible for one of the features of the *genre* called melodrama, which came into existence about 1800, is possible but unlikely.<sup>†</sup> *Scènes lyriques* like *Pygmalion* had no popular

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<sup>‡</sup>*Œuvres de Rousseau, Paris, 1826, Vol. XIII, p. 347. Translated from D'observations sur L'Alceste Italien de M. Le Chevalier Gluck.*

\**Œuvres, Vol. XV, p. 122.*

<sup>†</sup>There are some who credit Georg Benda, a German, with originating melodrama. His *Ariadne auf Naxos*, a composition much like *Pyg-*

success; moreover, the musical element of the melodrama of 1800 found, as we shall see presently, its immediate source in the pantomimes of the day. And pantomime with musical accompaniment goes back to the Roman theatre. In any case, however, the influence of *Pygmalion* could not extend beyond a particular method of employing music in a play; and music was only a temporary feature of what is now known as melodrama. The main point to be noticed is that the monologue of *Pygmalion*, with its absence of any sensational elements, could not possibly be the ancestor of the peculiar type of plot and characterization that belong to modern melodrama.

## II.

From a few years after the death of Molière until 1791, the *Comédie Française* had a monopoly of the drama in Paris even more far reaching than that possessed by Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres in London down to 1843. Until some relaxation was made in the censorship just before the Revolution, the secondary theatres of Paris were not allowed any entertainments that had dialogue. They were obliged to confine themselves exclusively to pantomime, and this for a long time merely followed the old conventions.

The first step towards a popular drama was made by Arnould. Though retaining many of the accessories of traditional pantomime, he discarded the well-worn humours of Harlequin and substituted quite novel material. His *Les quatre fils Aymon* told a heroic tale of the time of Charlemagne; his *Maréchal-des-logis* was a wordless dramatization of a popular story of his own day; his *La mort du Capitaine Cook* allowed the exhibition of strange costumes and scenes as well as of thrilling events. The \*plot of *Dorothée* will show how far Arnould prepared the way for melodrama. The heroine is wooed by the mayor; she repulses his advances; he brings an accusation against her and causes her to be put into

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*malion* but more dramatic, appeared in Paris in 1781 and was called a *mélodrame* by its French translator. But here again the term simply means *musical drama*.

\*Adapted from an account of this pantomime in J. F. Mason's *Melodrama in France, 1791-1830*.



prison; she is to be burned to death; at the last moment the hero arrives and rescues her. Then her husband appears on the scene, orders the punishment of the mayor and with tears thanks his wife's rescuer. Here already are emerging what we shall later discover to be the essentials of the plot of a melodrama,—a hero and heroine, one or both of whom are pursued by a villain; the triumph of virtue and the overthrow of evil.

How were such stories made clear to the audience if only pantomimic representation was permitted? By a device analogous to that employed in connection with moving pictures to-day. Printed explanations at intervals are thrown on the screen in our modern theatres. In Arnould's time printed programmes or inscribed banners served the same purpose. Thus at one point in Dorothee's perils the following inscription was exhibited:

La belle Dorothee  
Au feu sera jetee  
Si la valeur d'un chevalier loyal  
Ne la recourt de ce brazier fatal.

It is interesting to note other parallels between the plot of an ordinary moving picture play and the French pantomimes in the days of the Revolution. The conditions of representation require a story that can be told with the fewest possible explanations. The drama of ideas or discussion has no place in dumb show; action must be physical not psychological and must be sufficiently interesting in itself to atone for the lack of speech. Motives must be very obvious, and characterization without any lights and shadows. The good are little lower than the angels and the bad without hope of redemption. Hence the hero and heroine on the one hand and the villain on the other are necessary creations; and if comic relief be added it is unavoidably of a farcical nature.

The law of 1791, freeing the minor theatres from their disabilities, allowed pantomime to become vocal, and for some time the new type of entertainment that developed was known by the strange name of *pantomimes dialoguées*. These used their greater resources only for the exploitation of greater sensations. The English novels of terror, written at this time

by Mrs. Radcliffe and others, and French romances of a similar sort by Mme. Cottin and Ducray Duminil provided a great reservoir of materials. "We have been regaled," said a contemporary critic,\* "with the *Nun of Lindenburg*, a tragi-comedy in five acts, accompanied with all the accessories. These accessories consist of devils, spectres, ghosts, thieves." Nodier† gives the same testimony: "In the time of the Directory there were played for several years in France, under the bizarre title of *Pantomimes dialoguées*, an assemblage of formless, monstrous, and abortive scenes, turbulent as a riot, mysterious as a conspiracy, noisy and bloody as a battle; spectres, caverns, dungeons were much in evidence: all of which is entirely suited to an art in its first infancy."

Although the term *mélodrame* was often applied to these *pantomimes dialoguées*, just as it had been previously applied to the simple pantomimes, another development was necessary before all the distinctive features of the *genre* should appear. A Corneille of the boulevards was to come to give the popular drama its forms and its laws. This was Pixérécourt, a writer for the minor theatres of Paris, who in the forty years following 1793, produced 120 pieces of which all but twenty-six reached the stage. He was proud of his success and collected statistics to show that during these years his plays reached 30,000 representations. Of the total number, he classified sixty-one as tragedies, comedies, *dramas*, comic operas, lyrical dramas, fairy pieces, pantomimes, and vaudevilles; the remaining fifty-nine he called melodramas.

Pixérécourt regarded the melodrama as a form of his own invention. "For a century and a half," he wrote,‡ "Molière, Regnard, and Destouches for comedy; Corneille, Racine, Crébillon, and Voltaire for tragedy, had produced masterpieces. Since, with some few exceptions, nothing but gleaning has been done. All was said; all was done. It was necessary, then, to invent a new form of drama." His friend and editor, Nodier, a member of the French Academy, states emphatically that

\*F. Pillet: *Melpomène et Thalie vengées*. Paris, an VII.

†*Revue de Paris*, July, 1835.

‡*Dernières réflexions de l'auteur sur le mélodrame*.



melodrama, as it has existed since 1800, is a new type of play (un genre nouveau), "the sole popular tragedy that belongs to our age; its birth dates from *Coelina*."\* This opinion has found very general support in French criticism. Faguet, for example, on the occasion of the revival of *Latude* at the *Ambigu* in June, 1903, wrote as follows: "This Pixérécourt is a man of great importance in the history of dramatic literature. It is he and not another who from 1798 onwards . . . created the popular drama."† To this testimony may be added quotations from two contemporary newspapers:

"The boulevards have offered pieces with devils, with ghosts, with fights, . . . and people have run to the boulevards and have applauded the devils; but none of these monstrous productions, however successful, can be compared with that given yesterday at the *Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique*, under the title of *Coelina, ou l'enfant du mystère*." And again from the same newspaper at a later date: "We desire only to do justice to a production free from all the prodigious and marvellous features which for two years have drawn all Paris to the boulevards."‡ A similar statement was made in the *Journal d'Indications*, which says that *Coelina* "should be distinguished from the swarm of insignificant, pitiable works or burlesques, of which good taste, manners, and reason are weary."

It seems clear, therefore, that Pixérécourt and his contemporaries regarded *Coelina* as a new kind of play. This does not mean that it was independent of everything that had gone before or that it contained any conspicuously new elements. Pixérécourt himself relied considerably on the romances that had been a favorite source of material with the writers of *pantomimes dialoguées*. But he omitted some elements and added others; he recombined old materials,

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\*Pixérécourt calls *Rosa* his first melodrama. It was produced at the *Théâtre de la Gaîté* on Aug. 9, 1800. It was altogether eclipsed, however, by *Coelina, ou l'enfant du mystère*, produced at the *Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique*, Sept. 2, 1800. This piece was played 1476 times during Pixérécourt's life and was translated into several languages.

†*Propos de Théâtre*.

‡*Courrier des Spectacles*, an VIII.

shifted the emphasis, and wrote with a deliberate theory. The result was melodrama as the term is now understood.

Many of the characteristics of the new *genre* were derived immediately from the *pantomimes dialoguées*, or only slightly varied. Appropriate orchestral music announced the entrance of characters, accompanied the dumb show and sometimes the words. The dialogue possessed the rhetorical elevation so dear to the hearts of the crowd. Andromaque's "Je ne l'ai pas encore embrassé aujourd'hui" was too commonplace for the melodramatic heroine; she must exclaim,\* "Je ne l'ai pas pressé dans mes bras maternels." The plot was full of thrilling events and violent action, and the characters belonged to a few obvious types.

But Pixérécourt was not a mere borrower. In working out his theory of what a drama should be he gave to the plot of the melodrama the fixed form which it has preserved ever since. Many characters may appear, but four are almost always prominent,—the hero and heroine, the villain, and the eccentric person to provide comic relief. The first two are usually in love and are so drawn as to attract the sympathies of the audience. The villain undertakes to work the ruin of one or both, and the problem of the play is simply to defeat his machinations and to make virtue triumph. The public of the boulevards was not capable of disentangling the moral from an ordinary catastrophe. It had to have incarnate innocence and villainy, with the triumph of the one and the overthrow of the other. The explicit moral lesson insisted upon in his melodramas, Pixérécourt considered his own special contribution. In his *Dernières Réflexions* he puts all emphasis on the necessity of making the drama an instrument of morality. It has even been claimed that he was successful in reducing crime. A story appeared in newspapers of the time to the effect that a witness in a criminal case testified that when someone had proposed a crime to him, he could only exclaim: "Poor unfortunate, you have never gone to the *Gaiety*! You have never seen represented a piece by Pixérécourt!"

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\*Nodier in his introduction to Pixérécourt's works.



The relation of this new form to the time is explicitly stated by Nodier, and his opinion is generally approved:

"Certain it is that under the circumstances in which it appeared, melodrama was a necessity. The whole people had just been playing, in the streets and public squares, the greatest drama of history. Everyone had been an actor in this bloody piece; everyone had been either a soldier, or a revolutionist, or an exile. These solemn spectators, about whom still clung the odour of powder and blood, must have emotions analogous to those of which the return to law and order had deprived them. They must have conspiracies, dungeons, scaffolds, battlefields, powder, and blood, the unmerited misfortunes of grandeur and glory, the machinations of traitors, the perilous devotion of the good. It was necessary to recall to their minds, in a theme ever new in contexture, that great lesson, in which are summed up all the philosophies founded on all the religions, that even here below virtue is never without recompense, crime never without punishment. Let no one mistake my meaning: this melodrama was no small thing! It was the moral sense of the Revolution."<sup>†</sup>

### III.

The first melodrama in England was Thomas Holcroft's *A Tale of Mystery*, which was produced at Covent Garden Theatre on November 13, 1802. Although the author made only vague and meagre acknowledgments of aid from a "French drama," he had done little more than freely translate Pixérécourt's *Coelina, ou l'enfant du mystère*. He omitted some speeches and shortened others, but followed his original step by step until the closing scene. There, instead of putting the villain into the clutches of the law, as Pixérécourt did,\* Holcroft, who was one of the leading philosophical sentimentalists of the day, made the persecuted heroine intercede for her enemy: "O, forbear! let my father's virtues plead for my uncle's errors." The play ends with the reply: "We all will entreat for mercy, since we all have need."

Though for ten years preceding Holcroft's *A Tale of Mystery* almost every element of melodrama had been familiar to the English stage, it was not a mere name that reached

<sup>†</sup>Nodier: Introduction to the works of Pixérécourt.

\*"Mes amis, laissez aux lois le soin de nous venger. (*Aux archers*)  
Faites votre devoir. (*On emmène Truguelin blessé*)."

England in 1802. If the different features of melodrama had existed before, they had never been combined in the same way. The villains of tragedy always involved the innocent in their own ruin. The evil-doers of sentimental comedy were not foiled by the policeman's pistol or the avenger's knife; they were moved to repentance by the pathetic beauty and unswerving virtue of the innocence they had wronged; the worm of conscience and not the hand of man restrained them and punished them. The drama of terror, like *The Castle Spectre* of "Monk" Lewis, depended for effects chiefly upon its supernatural elements; it resembled melodrama only in its power to thrill the audience. All the foregoing types, moreover, followed the English tradition of complicated plots and loosely jointed scenes, which often existed for their independent appeal rather than from any organic necessity. But the melodrama imported from France was a "well-made" play. An incident was interesting, not merely in itself, but because of what preceded it and of what was to follow. The plot was single; the speeches were short and crisp; the action was rapid. Said a writer in *The Monthly Mirror* in a review of Holcroft's play: "We cannot too much admire the ingenuity with which this plot is conducted. *There seems to be nothing superfluous, nothing deficient.*" Of not many English plays of that day or earlier could such a statement be made; but from this time English technique began gradually to change. The many melodramas that followed, whether translated from the French or independently composed of fresh material, were certain to possess the qualities of swiftness and singleness.

"The melodrama," lamented the *Covent Garden Journal* in 1810, "will in spite of opposition carry everything before it." Modern critics, relying on such statements, have made the mistake of assuming that the standard drama was practically driven from the stage by the new form, "Shakespeare, Otway, Massinger, forgot." This was not the case. Then and for long afterwards, two or three different pieces were usually played in one evening. The comedy or tragedy that constituted the main entertainment was often preceded by a curtain-raiser and followed by an afterpiece. Nearly all the early melodramas were afterpieces, and they replaced not Shakespeare but *Mother Goose*. In the season of 1811-1812, for



instance, the Covent Garden stage saw as many productions from the Elizabethan dramatists as from all the authors together, old and new, who had flourished since the Restoration.

But, it is alleged, if melodrama did not drive out the old stock pieces that for a hundred years had been in the repertory of the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane and Covent Garden, it certainly destroyed all serious contemporary drama. Tragedy in particular is said to have suffered. "In the period from 1800 to 1830," says Professor Thorndike,\* "the novel and the melodrama and the melodramatized novel all united to restrict the demand for pure tragedy"; and in another place: "During the nineteenth century, melodrama has thrust tragedy from the theatres and from public favour." Such a view, however, is not in accord with the facts. Tragedy had ceased to be an important form at least half a century before melodrama was invented. It had flourished in the age of Shakespeare because at that time conditions were favourable. Audiences were almost entirely composed of men, red-blooded and strong-nerved. The Elizabethans loved the cruel contests in the bull-baiting and bear-baiting arenas. They daily passed without a tremor the thirty heads of traitors that glistened in the sun on London Bridge. Great crowds for a generation applauded *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Titus Andronicus* and calmly saw Gloster's eyes put out in the playing of *King Lear*. In such days tragedy was possible. But now all is changed.

Eighteenth century sentimentalism in England and France, with its notions of perfectibility and humanitarianism, and its political, philosophical, and artistic theories based on these conceptions, provided no soil for tragedy. On the contrary, the doctrine that human nature is essentially good, and evil not inherent but accidental, strikes at the very roots of tragedy, since it does not permit the exhibition of a catastrophe developing inevitably from inherent faults of character. Hence the sentimental playwright turned to comedy, because in this form he could represent the errors of humanity and yet achieve a happy ending through the reforming powers of virtue. Partly because of the enervating doctrines of philosophical sentimentalism and partly because of the steady

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\**Tragedy*, p. 337.

growth of humanitarian feelings, audiences at the end of the eighteenth century lost the power of enduring tragedy. The same conditions exist to-day. The dramatist in his closet may obey the voice of Art and Nature and listen to the teachings of Experience; but in the office of the theatre manager he quails before the loud demand of the public for plays that end happily. The development of melodrama and the decay of tragedy therefore are not related as cause and effect; they are but different aspects of the same fundamental reality—the aversion of modern men and women to face the tragic facts of life.

W. E. MCNEILL.



## THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIA.

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**A**N American, long resident in Turkey, declared last April that the Armenian massacres were checked through the efforts of German and Austrian diplomatic representatives, and expressed the opinion that not more than 500,000 were killed instead of a million as had been reported. Are we to gather that it would be gratifying to the susceptibilities of the American reading public to learn that possibly only half a million men, women and children had been killed in cold blood by torture, rape and starvation, and not a million as at first reported? However, the larger figure is unfortunately all too accurate. As far back as January of this year the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief issued an official statement to the effect that "of the 2,000,000 Armenians in Turkey one year ago, at least 1,000,000 have been slain, driven from the country, forced into Islam, have perished on the way to exile, or been deported." Torture, outrage, brutality, disease, hunger, and cold have kept up their work all spring and summer and will reap an even deadlier harvest this coming winter. Reports come to diplomatic circles in Washington of a recrudescence of persecution against Armenians this fall, and to their number must be added the tens of thousands of Greeks in Turkey who will be massacred with equal outrage and barbarity if Greece takes up arms. We have become used to superlatives. The war and the trail of evils following in its track are so stupendous that nothing but superlatives can describe them. And it would seem as if Turkey, bound not to be outdone, is but repeating on the same stupendous scale the massacres which have befouled her name in the past but which are insignificant when compared with the massacres of 1915-16.

"Nowhere in the world's history can a page be found to parallel that upon which are recorded the inhuman brutalities practised by the Turks upon the defenceless Armenian people. In past years fear of European interference has served in a measure to hold these outrages in check. The present war, however, has removed that check.

"The men in the army were the first to be brutally put to death. These and civilians, after being subjected to horrible tortures, were shot.

Armenian professors, with high degrees from American and European universities, were tortured by pulling out their hair, beard and finger nails, by burning and cutting off their toes and by beating. Even priests were made victims of brutal murder.

"Women, children, the sick and aged were forced at a moment's notice to start on foot on a journey to exile. Mothers, torn from their children, were compelled to leave the little ones behind. Women giving birth to children on the road were forbidden to delay, but, under the whiplash, were made to continue their march until they dropped from exhaustion to die. A United States Consul reported that he saw helpless people brained with clubs while children were killed by beating their brains out against the rocks. Other children were thrown into rivers and those who could swim were shot down as they struggled in the water."\*

A member of the relief commission in Tiflis, Russia, writes as follows,† and the same story comes from all over Turkey:

"Last evening I dined with a gentleman who had come up out of Persia a few months ago, just about the time the last great exodus took place. He relates that on the arrival of his train at Anni, on the great Erivan Plain, he saw one of the most moving sights of his life. That great level plain was black with a slow moving mass of humanity, that seemed to fill and overflow the horizon as far as the eye could see. He states that they must have numbered close on to 250,000 and that they were slowly, aimlessly, listlessly wandering in the torrid heat of that September day. Children were dying by the hundreds, sometimes the frenzied mothers would in their helpless, mad grief, fling their children from them over the roadside, into the fields, so as not to see the dying agonies of their emaciated and starved babies. Old women and men were dropping out by the roadside, too far gone to go another step, epidemics had already appeared and were claiming their victims by the hundreds, and amidst this scene of death and desolation, women were seen giving birth to children in all the pangs of that terrible time in the life of a woman. From that throng, he said, there went up to heaven such an unutterable wail of woe and misery, that he was compelled to close down the window in his compartment to try, if possible, to shut out the sound of that concentration of agony and pain which was wrung from the lips of those homeless, destitute wanderers.

"Out of the hundred stories that are daily coming to hand, it is hard to make a choice, for all are most interesting and touching. We hear, for instance, of Cossack transports picking up scores of little children left by the roadside to die and their bringing those in on their

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\*American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, Jan., 1916.

†Dec. 12, 1915.



wagons, sharing their frugal meals with them, of women found dead by the roadside and a baby trying to waken the mother by pulling at her face and demanding its food, of new-born babies left just as they were born, carelessly flung aside, the mother often dying shortly afterwards, or of a Russian officer out at the front sitting crouched over a little fire that he had made out of a few sticks, and of a little girl stiff with cold and hungry, slipping into the circle of heat of the fire, and without apology snuggling up to him and going fast asleep in a moment in the kindly warmth of the fire, and of that officer sitting cramped for hours in order to let the little waif sleep in the folds of his big army coat.

"But why go on. The tale is an endless one and grows more horrible as the details slowly filter in.

"I have seen some myself, have looked into the faces of hunted, haunted children prematurely old through the months of horrors that they have gone through, have looked too into the eyes of young women and girls, alas, too apparent already the condition they are in, hateful outrage and nightmare behind them, more and worse facing them after a month or two. I have seen just a little, but that little is enough to give me an idea of what the future holds in this line, and quite enough to sicken and sadden."

What is the purpose of this mad orgy of torture and rapine and death? An American missionary in Turkey writes: "There is a determination on the part of the Turk, already expressed openly, to stamp out Christianity in this land where it has existed so long. I am confident that he will not be able to do it, but the conflict is on." And of his difficulties in securing permission to do relief work he says: "Some of the highest officials have actually said to ambassadors and others that it was their purpose to destroy the Armenians; why then should they give facilities for engaging in relief measures?" The Armenian question is to be finally solved by the extermination of the Armenian people. What is the Armenian question, and why is this method of solving the problem chosen by the Turk?

When the Turk first overran Asia Minor and Syria he found there a heterogeneous population who, with the exception of the Armenians and a few smaller races, had become more or less Hellenized. The Armenians, although Christian, had escaped Hellenizing influences only by clinging tenaciously to their independent ecclesiastical organization. Of the conquered peoples many adopted Islam; the rest still cling to the special forms of semi-heathen or Christian worship bequeathed to them by their forefathers, and because

they refuse to be assimilated by the Turk have suffered more or less constant persecution. Of these peoples the Armenians have perhaps suffered the most. For nearly 3000 years they have endured conquest and oppression, and yet, whereas Nineveh and Babylon are to-day but names for archaeologists to conjure with, the Armenian still remains, depleted in numbers but with an unconquerable tenacity of race. His prolonged and bitter struggle against absorption and extermination has produced a haughty and exclusive pride of race; his vicissitudes have taught him to dissemble his real feelings and to court favours by flattering the tyrant; his religion has expended its energy in preserving for him his language, literature and traditions and is not a force making for progress; but of all the races in Turkey he is the most responsive to the ideals of the west, and while prepared to flatter, to cringe, or to lie in order to win a favour, there is one thing he will not do—he will not, in times of massacre, tie a white turban around his head or cry out, “I am of the Faithful,” even though his refusal to do so means torture and a horrible death.

A story current in Turkey represents a Greek as resenting the blow of a Turk by drawing his dagger, a Jew as remonstrative and appeased only by gold, but an Armenian as folding his hands on his breast and murmuring the thanks of a slave for the tyrant’s blow. And in one sense this picture is true. Centuries of oppression and insult have taught him to be servile in his outward demeanour, but at heart he is as proud and unconquerable as ever. A number of Armenian villagers once stood shoulder to shoulder and rather than let an infuriated group of Turkish soldiers hurt a missionary, bore uncomplainingly upon their backs blows from sword and butt of gun. They dared not retaliate. They well knew that even for their passive resistance they would be made to suffer. But their gratitude to one who had come to them in their oppression, and the kinship which they, under Mohammedan rule, felt for one who like themselves was a Christian, touched some secret chord which made heroes of these men.

But the Turkish attitude to the Armenian is not to be explained simply by his tenacity of race. The Turkish peasant is affable and easily satisfied. His religion teaches him to accept good weather or bad, and good government or bad with



equal gratitude to Allah, and similarly he is as content to live alongside of and trade with a Christian or a Jew as with a fellow-Moslem. But just because he has no will of his own he does what he is told, and like a faithful watchdog will rend to pieces anyone who is set upon and the next moment playfully caress a child. In a town where a massacre had been planned, a Turk warned his Armenian partner under promise of strictest secrecy. He said that when the day should come and the order be given he would feel it his sacred duty to slay first of all that one among the 'giaours' who was his dearest friend, for was not massacre a form of the sacred war upon non-believers which is enjoined by the Koran? But while appeal is made to the religious fanaticism of the Moslem when a massacre is decreed, its real cause is not religious but economic and political. The Armenians, by their genius for commerce and superior integrity and foresight in the conduct of affairs entrusted to them, readily acquire such positions of wealth and influence in Turkey as to arouse the jealousy and hatred of the Turkish officials. Hence the Armenian problem resolves itself to this: if left in peace the Armenians would soon accumulate—in common with the Jews, Greeks and other non-Turkish races—the wealth and resources of the land; they would soon occupy the leading places in the professional world; and if allowed to take part in the administration of the country and to compete on an equal footing with the Turk for positions in the civil service, would replace the Turk even there. For the Turk is by nature and preference a soldier and an agriculturalist, and can retain a dominant position in the political and economic world only by a system of judicious massacre and pillage. The present massacre is, however, more than a judicious pruning of Armenian ambition and progress, it is an attempt to exterminate the Armenians root and branch, and thus solve once for all the Armenian question.

The reason why the Young Turks now in power at Constantinople are not content to prune but desire to exterminate the Armenians is to be found partly in their belief that so long as there are Armenians left in the land the Powers of Europe will continue to make of the presence of Christians under Moslem rule a pretext for interference in Turkey's internal affairs. But while the interference of Europe has

seldom if ever been single-minded, nevertheless it is not the presence of Christians in Turkey which has supplied Europe with occasions for interference, but the palpable inability of the Turk to manage his own affairs, of which inability the gross misrule of his Christian subjects has been the most patent indication. In massacring the Armenians the Turk is not solving any problem but is merely killing off the most progressive element in the community. A lady writing of her experiences in Turkey says: "Some of the village aghas (burgomasters) also expressed themselves freely to us on the matter of the war and the calamity which had befallen the Armenians. They said that such cruelty would not go unavenged and that their day of reckoning would come. They complained bitterly that there were now no artisans or shopkeepers left to supply their wants, and that in a short time they themselves would be in desperate want. Our watchman at the summer residences showed us his feet, half naked because he could not find a shoemaker in all X—— to mend his shoes. All the surrounding Turkish, Kurdish, and Circassian villages were in the same need."

A Turkish soldier riding in a train constructed in Europe, manned by Armenians and Greeks, and controlled by European capital, regarded it as a matter of pride that he, a Turk, did not need to work but paid 'giaours' to work for him while he rode. That he was partly in rags and that Turkey was bankrupt worried him not at all. He did not understand or worry about finance. He was a soldier and a 'gentleman' and was willing to let the unbeliever do the work. But if the Turk slays all unbelievers in Turkey what will become of him? The policy of Enver and Talaat is, 'Turkey for the Turks,' but they fail to realize that Turkey has never belonged to the Turk. In the land of his adoption he is still, after seven hundred years, a foreigner and a usurper, holding by the sword the land he won by the sword.

But the policy of extermination could never have been embarked upon except for the war. Europe's preoccupation was Turkey's chance. Britain, France, Russia were busy elsewhere. There was indeed one strong neutral nation which might have protested and even taken action against so brutal a violation of the laws of God and man, but her measure had



been taken. Her people were too busy making money to look around. If their conscience should be roused by eyewitnesses' reports of some deed more hideously atrocious than those to which their ears had already become accustomed, a diplomatic note couched in firm but friendly terms would be the only result. What of Germany's attitude? Count von Reventlow has defended the massacres which even Turks have been found to condemn. But then those Turks allowed natural sympathies to sway them instead of being guided by considerations of high policy such as weigh with Count von Reventlow and with the Teutonized Enver and Talaat. Theoretically the policy of the massacre has been to remove Armenians from places where their presence in great numbers would be a menace to Turkey in case of invasion by an enemy army. But under plea of military necessity practically the whole Armenian population of Turkey has been scattered among Turkish villages or shifted to unhealthy localities on the edge of the Arabian desert. This process has been accompanied by such violence and brutality that even the German government has been compelled to instruct its ambassador at Constantinople to file the following protest with the Turkish government:\*

"The German Embassy regrets to have to realize that, according to information received from impartial and reliable sources, acts of violence, such as massacres and plunders, which could not be justified by the aim that the Imperial Government was pursuing, instead of being checked by the local authorities, regularly followed the expulsion of Armenians, so that most of them perished before reaching their destination. It is chiefly from the provinces of Trebizond, Diarbekir, and Erzerum that these facts are reported; in some places, as in Mardin, all Christians, without distinction of race or religion, had the same fate.

"At the same time the Imperial Government has thought it right to extend the measure of expatriation to the other provinces of Asia Minor, and very recently the Armenian villages of the district of Izmit, near the capital, have been evacuated under similar conditions.

"Under such circumstances the German Embassy, by order of its Government, is obliged to remonstrate once more against these acts of horror."

Now it will be noticed that "the aim that the Imperial (Ottoman) Government was pursuing," viz., the forcible deportation of whole communities of Armenians, does not meet

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\*August 9, 1915.

with German disapproval. Germany has taken similar steps in certain portions of enemy territory held by her, and there is every reason to believe that the policy of deportation of Armenians is a Teuton and not a Turkish one. The Turk is neither so systematic nor so thorough. A few massacres, a few thousands or ten of thousands killed and he would be satisfied, or at least sated. The desire to exterminate the Armenians may have started from Enver and Talaat, but the method is unlike anything that the Turks have employed in previous massacres. It bears the stamp of Teuton genius. But even if both the desire and the method be attributed to the Turk, it is nevertheless Turkish leaders enamoured of German kultur and allied in a holy war with "Hadji Mahmoud,"\* who have dared and have been encouraged to pursue such a policy. What Germany's protest amounts to is this: "You have our permission to deal with the Armenians as military necessity and internal policy may dictate; but be careful not to allow such atrocities to become known as would arouse against us the horror and indignation of neutral nations." Beyond this protest, which is also a permission, the German government will not go. As the American missionary already quoted says: "The probability that Germany will attempt in any serious way to restrain the Turks in this matter does not appear to me to be hopeful. The political aspect of Germany's relations with Turkey bulks too large to admit of the securing of much attention to a purely humanitarian point, in a policy which this government looks upon as necessary to its own stability."

In so far, then, as responsibility can be attached to any individual or set of individuals for the unparalleled atrocities in Turkey, it falls not so much upon Enver and Talaat, as upon the War Lord of that empire which professes to stand for the highest civilization, but which has not hesitated to purchase Turkey's assistance in the war at the price of Armenia's blood.

L. P. CHAMBERS.

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\*The name given to the Kaiser in Turkey since his reported conversion to Islam.



## CURRENT EVENTS.

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### EUROPE.

#### *The European Situation.*

When the Reichstag met a year ago the Chancellor could reinforce the demand for money by a wave of the hand to frontiers established by the Imperial Army in enemy territory. At that moment Petrograd, Kiev, the Black Sea, and even Egypt seemed to be goals well within reach of the German arms. Four months ago credits were again voted exultantly by the majority of the members, although this time manipulated reports of the battle of Jutland were employed to create an artificial atmosphere of success. When these lines are published, the Reichstag will have again assembled and will face new financial demands. There are signs of a certain disillusionment. The vigorous attacks by semi-official papers upon people who run down the war loan show that confidence is undermined, and Marshal von Hindenburg, in a strangely chastened interview, was evidently put forward to emphasize the urgent need for money. Whatever bravado the Germans may exhibit in public, in their hearts they must realize the change that three months have made. A whole season passed on the defensive must bring its own lesson to a nation saturated with the doctrine of the offensive in warfare. Taught that repeated 'hammer blows' alone can win, they see that Verdun shattered the hammer, and that their own army now lies on the anvil while the Allies strike when and where they please. The appeal issued by the General Staff in July was the signal for an outburst of manifestos imploring the nation to keep cool—cool as the 'ice-cold hucksters on the Thames.'\* That statement stigmatized the language of the Allied despatches as unsoldierly. How then are we to interpret the official German admission that Combles had fallen? Here for the first time is admitted, not a mere strategic readjustment, but plain defeat; and the announcement whines over

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\*The appeal containing this amazing phrase was given the place of honour in the official *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

the overwhelming machinery that bears their army down. As all German *communiqués* are drawn up for political effect, this is significant language. After the distortions of the past months, the change would seem to be preparing the public for events which can be neither minimized nor suppressed.

Two statements recently circulated show how little even those who state the theory of the present campaign feel its true meaning. Some weeks ago during a lull in the fighting it was suggested that the Western Allies would drop the battle of the Somme till next year. The sole ground for this rumour was the remark of a staff officer that if they did wait they would have far more guns and munitions. On the other hand, the chief American critic of the war gave prominence to a tale that the Allies had attacked prematurely in France because Verdun was in great danger at the end of June. As a sign that this might be the case, he cited the more rapid advances made by the Allies in the later stages of the fight. So one view considers that the battle began too soon, and the other, already refuted by facts, would have it end before its time. Since both shorten the period of the battle, they misinterpret the very essence of the Allied purpose. That purpose is to keep up as *continuous* and *prolonged* an assault as our strength and the season will permit, and to make the attack simultaneous on several different points.† The battle of the Somme has therefore its defined place in the series of which Brusiloff's advance and the battle of Gorizia (not to mention the counter attacks in the Trentino and before Verdun) all form part. Imagine the Somme battle held over, and the effect on Brusiloff's drive in the East. As it was, the Germans almost held the Russians on the Stokhod; had they been able to use the troops detained in the Somme area during that vital month of July, the eastern campaign might have gone differently. Indeed, the startling

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†Major Moraht, the chief German military critic, has just been reassuring his readers by comparing the territorial gains on the Somme with those made last year against Russia. Being a soldier, he knows that the comparison is senseless, but anything is considered good enough for German readers. The Russians gave ground to preserve their army, for armed force alone can win the ultimate victory. The Allies are attempting to destroy the German army and the territory will fall to the victors after that is done.



Italian success on the heights of Gorizia proves how great the drain of troops to the East must have been. Is it probable that the best munitioned of all the Allies did not attack on the Somme at the moment planned by the Paris War Council? If London stories are to be believed, it was common knowledge for weeks before that July 1st was to be the great day. Even if (what is improbable) the state of Verdun had some influence, it is absurd to cite the greater gains of the British and French in the later stages of the battle as evidence that they meant to begin then. These follow from the nature of the battle. On such reasoning, one might argue that a winning boxer should have started at the fifth round because his opponent then began to show signs of weakening.

The whole war, from the North Sea to Mesopotamia, is one battle with areas of special concentration. *Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum*, as the poet sings of an earlier world war. On the Somme, in Galicia, on the Isonzo, in the Balkans, and in the Caucasus and Mesopotamia the Allies are conducting a grand experiment which depends on their known strength and its relation to the strength of an enemy who has passed his best. It is the German theory to form a mass of attack while the other parts of the line merely hold. To gain men for such a mass other forces were weakened and the picked body hurled on the Verdun salient, where it was ruined. French officials compute that this effort to break out cost the enemy half a million men. In the last stages of that battle the Germans had definitely lost their immediate object, but were practically obliged to continue, in part because so immense a concentration of material could not readily be shifted. Now suppose such concentrations continue either willingly or unwillingly. A time will come when the enemy, with reserves falling short, will have to choose between weakening the lines too much elsewhere or losing on the main area of concentration. A working model of this choice has already been given by the unfortunate drive in the Trentino. The Eastern line became too weak, and in two months Brusiloff took 360,000 prisoners and probably put 1,000,000 men out of action. Again this strain reacted on the Trentino, where the Italians brilliantly recovered, and on the Isonzo, where the few days of the battle of Gorizia yielded 15,000

prisoners. All this began from the Trentino concentration. But the Allies are now in a position to compel the Germans, within limits, to concentrate for defence whether they will or not. The great offensives on East and West fulfil this purpose of wasting and disorganizing the enemy armies till a breaking strain at some time and place is reached. The Somme is the area in which the most continuous and intense pressure is exerted against the strongest German forces—strongest in numbers, in munitions, and in fortification. We can guess at the rate of concentration and wastage by such figures as the following. Before the last series of attacks the Germans had withdrawn 29 divisions from the British front alone, and they were not withdrawn for rest only! A later French account states that 67 *new* divisions and 17 battalions have been thrown into the fight on the combined Somme front—a front, be it remembered, only increased to 30 miles in the last few days. That is the involuntary drain that Germany is now compelled to make in order merely to hold. The test, then, to be applied to the Somme, as to the other battlegrounds, is this: Are the Germans able to counterattack successfully, or do they hold with increasing difficulty? It is notorious that none of their counterattacks have had more than partial and temporary success, and that the Allies have become proportionately stronger and more certain in their strokes as the battle proceeds. In Galicia the second of Brusiloff's great drives ruined the really formidable German preparations for a counterattack, and the stores of munitions collected for the purpose fell into his hands. While it is useless to speculate upon a collapse in any given time, since the enemy is still immensely strong, the end of such a process is certain. Superiority both in men and munitions has definitely passed to the Allies.\*

A little before Brusiloff's offensive Dr. Dillon, who month by month lectures England for England's good, informed his countrymen that Germany was holding in reserve a picked body of 2,000,000 men to administer the '*coup de grâce*.'

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\*General von Falkenhayn's circular acknowledged that the wastage of guns and munitions was now greater than the rate of replenishment. In the Chancellor's Reichstag speech the Allied superiority was admitted.



Considering that the battle of Verdun was still raging, his readers must have wondered why this final stroke was delayed. War, unlike melodrama, does not purposely prolong the agony till a fifth act. After hedging in June, when the Allied plan began to develop, this eminent publicist again produces his terrible story in September. If Germany were able to do more than hold her own with great strain, the attack on Verdun might have taken a different course; there would have been no thinning of the Eastern line; and the cool political judges who lead Roumania would hardly have entered the war. If the two million picked men existed, would not the German diplomats have played that card at Bucharest? Yet the difficult Transylvanian passes were yielded almost without a struggle because the line was too long to hold. 'To defend the Transylvania that they wish to rob us of, the Hungarians will become tigers,' said one of their leaders, and no one can doubt the strong political pressure that the Magyars must have exercised to prevent even a temporary withdrawal.

The entry of Roumania caused something like consternation among Bulgarians, who must have felt that their action a year ago was, if not wrong, at least premature. For several days there were uneasy comments about Bulgaria's loyalty in the German press, and then followed one of those pieces of stage management in which the Germans excel. A grand Balkan war council was held, after which it was announced that all other efforts would be suspended while Mackensen repeated his Serbian success with Roumania.† The facility of massacring small nations which experience alone can give was to be used against Roumania. Perplexing though the Balkan situation is at this moment, a difference can already be detected. At Turtukai an isolated Roumanian force was cut off by heavy guns, and the German papers immediately published a cunning *suggestio falsi*. They recalled that Moltke had considered this town to be the best spot for crossing the Danube; so that Bulgaria was now safe from attack in the rear. But when Moltke lived, the railways of the Balkans had not been built, and the lower Danube was unbridged. As the

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†This is one way of confessing that the initiative on East and West is lost to the Germans.

bridge of Czerna-Voda is further down the stream and in Roumanian territory, his dictum is quite obsolete. The rear of Bulgaria is not safe till that bridge has been reached. That Mackensen is not likely to reach it seems to be indicated by the new German contention that his drive simply distracted the Roumanian attention from the north. Mr. Belloc, at the beginning of Mackensen's drive, suggested that it was the attack of a fully mobilized army on a nation still preparing for the field. In this obscure campaign it is impossible to judge the Roumanian movements without reference to the distant battlefields which prevent Germany from throwing sufficient troops into the Balkans to gain local mastery. Such is one effect of those guns in a river valley on the other side of Europe. The gains are small counted by miles but Germany is bleeding to death there, and her decline may be marked by growing weakness at the extremities.

#### *The Balkans.*

The Salonika force has been a subject of wonder and of criticism because it has seemed to do little compared with armies on the other fronts. When the Allies landed there, much was heard of the folly of distributing our forces in 'little packets.' That landing was an admirable example of the manner in which political and military aims cannot be strictly separated. While the Greek court, for reasons well understood, revoked the promise made in constitutional form by M. Venizelos, the presence of the Allied armies has kept the whole of the Balkan kingdoms from falling under German domination. The immediate military effect was to prevent Salonika from being made another Zeebrugge, and the threat to the communications of Germany with Turkey immobilized a considerable force. With the entry of Roumania a last justification has been given to the policy of the Allied commanders. For undoubtedly the whole military situation has led to that decision, just as the drive against Russia and the failure to force the Dardanelles led Bulgaria to join against Serbia.

These effects are now admitted, but critics demand more action from General Sarrail. The London *Nation*, which before the battle of Jutland was discontented with the Navy because it was not doing enough, now extends its fussy vigi-



lance over the forces before Salonika. Even if the Allied Staffs do not know their business, there are few others who know it better. Any one with a map can see that it is theoretically possible to attack Bulgaria on two sides now, but none save the competent authorities are able to judge the Balkan situation as it stands in the whole European scheme. There are now comparatively few German or Austrian troops in the Balkan peninsula, and even Turkish forces have been drawn north to stem the Russian advance. This policy of draining the extremities by pressure at the centre must tell in time. It appears to be part of the process of forcing the enemy to concentrate at certain vital spots and thus compelling him to denude other parts of the line to a dangerous degree. But to take advantage of such weakening requires accurate timing, and no study of a map, however large, can be of the faintest help in judging the moment for action. Newspapers cannot write history because they are in the current itself; still less should they try to make it. Their function in war time is to render events intelligible as they take place, to keep the general object of the war before their readers, and, if criticism is necessary, to direct it at what is known and remediable.

Some one has suggested as a test of memory the succession of Greek premiers who have passed into and out of office since M. Venizelos withdrew. They are little more significant politically than the horse which Caligula made consul. The real history of Greece in this troubled year lies between two groups, the one led by a king who has thrown over his constitutional limitations, the other by M. Venizelos. In the background were Baron Schenk (now restored to Germany) and his myrmidons with unlimited money for purposes of corruption, and the Allied fleets. Since the day when the king unconstitutionally revoked the invitation to the Allies to land at Salonika, nothing but humiliation has befallen that unfortunate country. They have broken their pledge to Serbia, their ally; they have seen their new conquests occupied by armies which came on invitation and refused to leave because King Constantine changed his mind; and they have not merely allowed Bulgaria, their enemy, to occupy Kavala, but have surrendered troops without a struggle. At the present moment there is no Greece, but a congeries of fragments each disavow-

ing the authority of the king. So far as evidence is available, there is little doubt that the pose of injured innocent which Constantine adopts in his interviews is not according to facts. It seems certain that Bulgaria had private assurances from him before she entered the war, so that while M. Venizelos was preparing to aid Serbia, the king virtually incited the Bulgars to strike at his ally. No contradiction has yet been made of the German statement that the Greek troops before Kavala surrendered under orders from Athens. We need not speculate about the king's motives. Every speech and act of his before and during the war has shown that he is a man of small ability impressed with the invincibility of the German army and ambitious to govern his relations to army and people on the model of the Kaiser. If we add to this his jealousy of the great man who recalled him from the ignominious exile where the army had sent him and who doubled his kingdom, there are reasons enough for his course. Whether he is sent on his travels again, or is permitted to remain, or even declares war on Bulgaria, it is certain that the decision will not depend on him. That power belongs to Venizelos, who has alienated New Greece and a great part of the old kingdom from its nominal ruler.

#### *German Supplies.*

One of the earliest incidents of Herr von Batocki's administration was an open letter addressed to him by a member of the Bavarian ministry, in which he was asked a score of awkward questions. The details of the letter are unimportant for our purpose, but it betrays that sectional feeling which is never quite extinct in Germany. In the last three months there has been no essential difference in the German food situation. The harvest has eased matters for the present, though the loss of the Roumanian crops (or much of them) was a severe blow. Herr von Batocki was appointed to remedy the defects of organization which were officially declared to be responsible for the shortage. But now the Chancellor has admitted formally that 'the causes of these difficulties, in the last analysis, must be sought, not in defects of our organization, but in England's blockade measures.' 'It seems to me,' he adds rather disingenuously, 'that in a discussion regarding our food



difficulties, England's plans to starve us out have at present been relegated to the far background. Thereby public opinion has been led in the wrong direction, and the necessary understanding between the several groups of the population regarding the best way of overcoming food difficulties is rendered more difficult.' The inferences from this document are not far to seek. The Press Bureau 'led' the nation to believe that the blockade, though wicked, was ineffective. Consequently the organization was blamed for inefficiency, and then arose those sectional suspicions and recriminations of which the Bavarian letter is but one example. By deceiving to preserve morale, the Government undermined it in another way. Batocki's appointment as food dictator was an attempt to restore confidence; but the pressure of the blockade never varied. This dramatic step only exposed the permanent reason of the shortage. So the moment came when the Chancellor was obliged to admit the real cause, insurmountable by organization. The rest of his letter vaguely forecasts improved distribution and a lowering of prices, but the sting is in the tail. 'Even in war, economic laws in many cases show themselves stronger than the power of the state, and make it impossible to assure a supply, which must be done first, and at the same time have low prices.' This confession draws the moral from the fruitless efforts of last year to ensure a cheap and plentiful supply of material that was insufficient to begin with.\* But this year 'organization' is repeating some of the old mistakes. Paper after paper complains that hundreds of trucks of potatoes are standing on the line with their contents rotting. Here is one of the signs that the machine is moving heavily because men are running short. According to the *Hamburger Nachrichten* a large percentage of the spring crop rotted in the earth, and the delays on the railways are due to the poorness of communications. No wonder that the association of German potato dealers telegraphed to Batocki: 'Tremendous quantities of potatoes are spoiled and being spoiled. The only remedy is to sell them for what they will fetch. Please relax regulations about prices until the end of September.'† One consequence of

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\*See *Current Events*, July, 1916.

†Telegram sent at the beginning of August.

this glut was the revoking of the rule which forbade farmers to feed pigs with potatoes. Here in little is a model of the impotence of men to regulate what is beyond their control. A surplus going bad in one place; a shortage in another; insufficient labor for transport; conflict between the claims of men and animals:—how can these difficulties be settled in Berlin when the real dictator lies in the North Sea?‡

Probably it is in supplies for the army that the lack is most felt. At the moment of Germany's greatest trial her material resources are beginning to be unequal to her task. Roumania's declaration of war cut off petroleum—already extremely scarce—and left the menaced wells of Galicia as the main source of supply. The remarkable analysis written by General von Arnim proves that in every respect there is a felt inadequacy of material. As this continues the effect upon the *moral* of a losing army must increase. The war chariot is beginning to drive heavily; from now onwards the effect of naval pressure may be expected to grow with cumulative force.

*"Lest We Forget."*

The political settlement with Germany at the end of the war must not omit a reckoning with the criminals, high and low, to whom the Great General Staff have given a free hand. Nothing is more futile than invective against German brutality; but it is another thing to define its meaning and purpose. There is a danger that the sharp impression of unspeakable cruelties be lost, and a spineless humanitarianism induce the Allied peoples to condone and forget the past. The offence of the Germans in this war is two-fold. They began it because they regard warfare as a normal instrument of policy, to be resorted to *solely* as the convenience of the nation requires.

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‡I append some significant prices. In August, Dutch butter was advertised in Berlin at 45 marks for 9 lbs. Soft soap: May 1914, 53.80 m. for 100 kilos; May 1915, 115.50 m.; May 1916, 452 m. wholesale. The retail price of soap in the last month was 62 cents a pound. It is bought by ticket at the rate of 1¾ ounces per person per month. Coal heavers and chimney sweeps are allowed two extra tickets! These figures show the extraordinary scarcity of fats in Germany owing to the demand of munition factories.



It is not only an extension of policy, but an extension the application of which is subject to no check save that of expediency. Secondly, as all war is to be carried to the limit, any and every use of force or frightfulness against men or women, enemies or neutrals, is permitted to a German military authority. Their warfare suspends all codes, even the code that makes war in a measure humane. In short, Prussia follows a pure *Interessen-Politik*, which justifies any act that appears to serve Prussian ends. The decisive victory of the Allies will remove the power of the enemy to use or threaten force for some time to come. But the general defeat of their nation cannot cover the individual responsibility of the persons who ordered or executed barbarities. There is evidence to bring home many of these deeds to the criminals, and it should not be beyond the wit of man to devise a court where they can be tried fairly. Even now, few realize the persistency\* with which our enemies use calculated cruelty for their ends. It is sometimes assumed that the Belgian outrages were a brief episode. We do not yet know a tithe of the truth, and of that tithe only a fraction can be printed in the public press. The instances that follow have been selected from recently published barbarities, none of which, like the Wittenberg horror, were enacted from mere callousness and rancour. All bear the mark of policy.

In order to recover the Montenegrin minister of war, who had fled the country, Marshal von Weber proclaimed that if he and his two brothers did not surrender within a few days, his father, aged seventy-five, and his brother would be hanged. In due course the brother was hanged but 'as an exceptional act of mercy' (so the official announcement ran) the father was reprieved. As in the East, so in the West. This is the story of the Fredericq family. General von Bissing desired Dr. Fredericq, an eminent leader in the Flemish movement, to be a professor in the University of Ghent. Fredericq refused to lend himself to this obvious attempt to drive a wedge between Walloons and Flemings. With Professor Pirenne, who declined the rectorship, he was promptly sent off to Germany. There they remain shut up, notwithstanding the

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\*See *The Massacre of Armenia* above.

widely-signed appeal of Dutch scholars that they be allowed to continue their valuable work. (It is said in Holland that the signatories were black-listed by the proper German department!). This is mild treatment for a man who ventured to oppose German policy. His brother, Leon Fredericq the physiologist, was punished for no fault of his own. He had a son who escaped from imprisonment at Liège. As this son was a military surgeon, it is not clear why he should have been a prisoner. Not being able to catch the son, the Germans visited his sin upon the father, a man of 63, whom they imprisoned and kept for 36 hours without food. The German commandant admitted that he was in no way responsible for the escape, yet kept him for three days and then imprisoned another son in his stead for ten days.† In this case acts of

†Professor Jules Duesbuy of Liège in the *New York Times*.  
policy shade off into wanton and stupid brutality.

So much for their tender mercies to the enemy; this is how they treat their subjects. General Dobell's report on the atrocities in the Cameroons is now available. It is a record of murder and mutilation. 'After they knew the English had occupied Jabassi they had instructions to kill every native they saw.' (Report of a native soldier). . . "The white officer said to the soldiers, "Why do you bring any man to me alive? Go and kill them!" The black soldiers began to hack me with machets (broad heavy knives) and cut me about till I fell senseless, and I was left for dead.' (Report of mutilated survivor). 'Sufficient evidence is available,' says General Dobell, 'to show that German Europeans encouraged brutalities by personally cutting the throats of wounded British soldiers with knives, firing on peaceful inhabitants to terrorize them, and shooting natives without trial.' The French report of similar atrocities contains photographs of brutally mutilated men.\* The object of this policy is clear. The Germans feared a rising of their grateful subjects and resorted to terrorism. The result, as an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* showed, was to drive them into the arms of the Allies. When the country was evidently about to be lost, the natives were of no further use, even as tools. Con-

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\**Daily Mail*, 3 Aug., 1916.



sequently the Germans told them 'that the Allied forces might take the country, but that there would be no inhabitants left.'

One can conceive the reign of terror that would follow if this territory were restored after peace. Those who argue that the Germans should receive their own back, conveniently forget that these natives, body and soul, will be thrown in with the land. When their former owners return, revenge and the need for regaining prestige will dictate a policy of terrorism. The problem of the destiny of German Africa is no doubt complex, but if, as some wish, the Allies give back German colonies merely in order to avoid the appearance of territorial ambition,<sup>†</sup> they will be despicable. While taking the sting from Prussianism in Europe, they will have given it free scope where the victims are too weak to resist effectively and too insignificant to make their voice heard. The interests of the natives must be a main consideration in the settlement.

An economic motive underlay the arbitrary removal of 25,000 men and women from Lille and the neighboring towns of Roubaix and Turcoing. This act is one of many signs that the labour necessary to maintain the German field army is now falling short. The Germans chose their forced labourers by purely economic tests. Girls with service-roughened hands were preferred, and of the two hundred selected children of 15 the majority were already used to toil. These poor people are compelled to make munitions, to dig trenches under fire, to cook for the troops, to act as officers' servants, and are beaten and starved if they do less than the allotted task. The whole proceeding is flagrantly illegal and was carried out with extreme callousness. Families were broken up with ten to ninety minutes' notice; at three in the morning the troops pounced on their intended victims with machine guns, bayonets, and *bands*. 'Thus to dismember the family,' said the Bishop of Lille, 'is not war; it is for us torture, and the worst of tortures — unlimited moral torture.' 'On leaving their homes they were collected in the

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<sup>†</sup>See e.g. a letter of Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., in the *London Nation*, Sept. 9. This pillar of the Union of Democratic Control advocates the return of German Africa without a qualm about the native inhabitants.

churches and schools of their district, numbered and labelled, and carted off in cattle wagons to the station, harlots and young girls, ragamuffins and merchants, all joined in the common misery. Yet, as the first of these slave-gangs drove to the railway station, these wretched folk were defiantly shouting, "Vive la France," and for the first time since the Germans entered Lille rang out the song of freedom and revolt, the "Marseillaise." Of those left behind some went mad. 'What moved us most,' wrote one, 'was the departure of the women and young girls who had been taken. You can imagine the state of parents who saw young girls of between sixteen and twenty years of age going off in the midst of young fellows of all sorts and conditions. And whither? That no one knows. The wind of sorrow is blowing round us but for all that we keep our courage and are confident.' There speaks the immortal France.\*

Last in the list may be placed another type of infamy, the *symbolic* act standing by itself. The 25,000 were removed because Germany needed them and did not care what the world thought. Captain Fryatt was shot because his executioners wished to produce a certain psychological effect through an unjust trial. What is the essence of that execution? Other illegal acts showed that law could not withhold Germany from any purpose that seemed to pay her; this trial and condemnation were not improbably arranged to exhibit her glaring contempt for the law.† It is arguable, for example, that Miss Cavell was technically guilty of an offence punishable with

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\*One hopes it is true that some German officers and men are awaiting trial because this infamy was too much for them and they refused to obey orders.

†Here is a cynical assertion of this contempt in another sphere. French prisoners are obliged to work in Erhardt's munitions factory at Düsseldorf. According to the Swiss representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross the following notice is posted in the camp: " . . . Any appeal of the prisoners to the regulations and laws of their own country will be useless, as the prisoners in point of fact are under the law of the German Government alone." It is not the law of France, but the international code agreed to by Germany itself to which prisoners are forbidden to appeal. If they refuse to work, 'all means will be employed to compel' them.



death, though no civilized government would exact the penalty. But Captain Fryatt did what the German naval code itself admits to be legal. He defended his passengers from an armed enemy vessel and saved their lives by his promptitude, while on the same day the *Falaba* surrendered without resistance to a submarine and lost 100 in killed and wounded. Consequently the legal form given to this murder raised in glaring relief its fundamental illegality. What then was the calculated effect of this symbolical injustice? Not improbably Professor Kruckmann in the *Kreuz Zeitung* has accurately stated its purpose. 'Anyone,' he says, 'who had taken the trouble to study the English character could not help saying when he received the news of Fryatt's execution, "now we have burned our boats."' If this view is right, the mere injustice of the act was intended by the General Staff to convince all parties in Germany that compromise with the Western Powers was now impossible. 'Nobody who knows England could be in the slightest doubt that the shooting of an English captain must produce a final development of the war into one of pitiless fighting to the bloodiest of ends. By shooting Fryatt we have begun this new phase, and now there is no turning back.' Professor Kruckmann knows his England! If there was also a hope of intimidating our merchant marine, the General Staff have added another to their long list of psychological blunders.

This execution I have called a symbolical act of injustice. It would be an endless task to bring to book every criminal in this great war. But in order to vindicate the decencies and humanities, which no war can abrogate, a great assize might well assert justice by an answering symbolical act. Some criminals and some crimes stand out because they are monstrous. The evidence has been carefully collected; if the men ever fall into the hands of the Allies, let them stand trial.

### *Ireland.*

At the moment when the last number of this magazine was published, Mr. Lloyd George announced that an agreement on the Irish question had been reached. But in that woeful country settlements are made to be destroyed. It is useless to apportion blame. One's first impulse is to criticize

the Cabinet for upsetting an agreement arrived at by the parties most directly interested. But it is obvious that Mr. Lloyd George could not have had the powers of a plenipotentiary; in the last resort the Cabinet must revise the settlement. Again, the question of Irish representation at Westminster pending a final arrangement concerned the English parties directly and the matter could not be agreed upon above their heads. It is deplorable that the goodwill shown by both sides should not bear fruit now, but general consent was not behind the proposed measure. Indeed Mr. Dillon, on entering the Conference, had foreseen where negotiations would break down. 'He told the then Minister of Munitions quite frankly that in his opinion he would not succeed, that the proposed compromise would not be accepted, and that one result of the negotiations would probably be the break-up of the Irish Parliamentary Party.'\*

This risk the Irish party took. One of the few bright spots in a gloomy situation is the willingness of Nationalist and Ulster leaders to work together for Ireland. It used to be said that they only united for a foray on the Treasury. But the tone of goodwill and sense of responsibility manifested in the debate of July 31 inspires hope that the old intransigence has begun to disappear. 'One great good,' said Mr. Redmond, 'has come out of what has been happening in the last few weeks. He thought that the relations between the Irish Nationalist party and Sir E. Carson had considerably improved. There was less bitterness than ever there was before between them, and he would do nothing and say nothing in the direction of imparting that bitterness to the future.' The background of Mr. Redmond's speech was the war, and in his mind the Irishmen of all beliefs who were fighting side by side on the Somme were a guarantee that civil war was now unthinkable and that a peaceful settlement would yet be reached. Mr. Duke, the new Secretary, is in the tradition of George Wyndham rather than of Walter Long, and his address to his constituents breathed the spirit of conciliation. He has taken office with the avowed intention of leading up to a satisfactory settlement, for, as he recognizes, the administrative machine

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\*House of Commons, 31 July.



has failed. Such are the sentiments of the leaders, and, one must hope, of the bulk of their followers. But undoubtedly Sinn Fein has won a hold by its very failure. From a programme it threatens to become a cult. That is one strong reason why no government can afford simply to sit still and administer the country.

*Lord Haldane.*

No one can object to attacks on Lord Haldane because his critics consider him to have deceived himself or misled the country about Germany's intentions. That is fair game. But mere decency forbids the use of some weapons. The Kaiser recently attacked 'English treachery.' Thereupon the *Morning Post*, promptly followed by other papers, found itself able to write as follows:—

"Why are the Germans so peculiarly annoyed because we actually did in 1914 what we threatened to do a few years before, and what all our obligations and interests compelled us to do? It even appears as if the Germans thought they had in some ways paid for a neutrality which was not observed, that *they had been given fair reason to suppose that we would never go to war. If such a promise was ever made or such an attitude ever indicated to Germany by our Government or any member of our Government*, it would be a treachery not so much to Germany as to England—treachery so black that the British people would themselves rise to punish the offenders.

"Let the German Emperor substantiate his charges; let him produce proofs that England has been treacherous or that *any English Minister gave him reason to believe before the war that England would forsake her friends, her obligations, and her interests*. It will not be sufficient to produce the utterances of those Radical politicians who were always yearning to betray; they could not commit their country or their Government."

The one fact that is certain about the Haldane negotiations is that such a promise was explicitly and formally refused by the British Government. The writer of this effusion speaks of Germany as 'paying' for our neutrality. It is difficult to extract definite sense from a mass of such hypotheses, but Germany never 'pays' without making sure, and no delicacy would restrain her from publishing documents that might sow distrust between Great Britain and her allies.

That genial task is left for English papers. For the nature of the charge of treachery one need go no further than the interview between the Chancellor and the British Ambassador. His theory then was that Germany had been attacked by Russia and France. 'What we had done,' he said, 'was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants.' Sir Edward Goschen referred to our solemn engagement to defend Belgium's neutrality. 'That solemn compact had to be kept.' Can one conceive the angry Chancellor in his twenty minutes' harangue making no reference to another compact which we had not kept, though we had been 'paid' for it? There was the stronger temptation to use that weapon if he had it, because the Ambassador harped upon the binding character of promises. But no, all he could say was that we must consider the price of keeping our compact. Let us turn from these malignant innuendoes to the words of a man who knows Lord Haldane's work.

'It was reserved,' said Lord French at Cambridge, 'for Lord Haldane to bring [the Volunteers] to the zenith of their reputation and value. The nation is indeed deeply indebted to the determined energy, skill, and foresight of that great and distinguished statesman. It was he who saw the real use to which they might be turned, and the general result was that great Territorial Army which is administered by those invaluable Territorial County Associations, the conception of which was surely one of the greatest strokes of genius any statesman ever exhibited. And what has been the outcome of all this? The answer is clear to any one who in the last two years has cast his eyes across the Channel, and observed the magnificent deeds in the field of those glorious Territorial divisions of citizen soldiers, who as volunteers have given their life's blood for King and Country.'

Not only did Lord Haldane devise the Territorial scheme, but it was he, in conjunction with his military advisers, who created the Expeditionary Force, which was to play its part on the Continent should we be drawn into war. The main reason why it came into being was the threatening policy of Germany. This is the debt that the country owes to Lord Haldane. He is rewarded by false insinuations that he did his utmost to prevent the Force from being landed on the Continent at all.



## CANADA.\*

Provincial rather than Dominion affairs have held the foreground during the last months. British Columbia has followed Manitoba in rejecting a Government that had outstayed its welcome. Naturally the change has made Ottawa uncomfortable. No tears need be shed over either of the defunct governments, but it is a serious evil that they have been beaten so thoroughly. Where the Opposition is well nigh impotent, as it was before these elections and now is after them, the Government has no check and is apt to use all the means in its power to prolong its own existence. When the reaction at last comes, again a powerful party in possession confronts a meagre Opposition and so the circle threatens to continue. A concomitant disadvantage is that the new Cabinet may have to draw from men untried and little known to the electors. Other things being equal, it would be an immense gain to public life if this notable disparity of parties could be modified. The Proportional Representation Society should have a good field for propaganda in Western Canada.

In Ontario the two by-elections have gone against the Conservative party. It is not quite easy to draw any decided moral from the curiously mixed views of the candidates in S. W. Toronto. Evidently those who lose through prohibition are going to make the Government pay. That is the price which any active policy exacts. Few will change sides for mere gratitude, and many old supporters are anxious, if not for revenge, at least to convey a decided warning. It must be admitted that the tactics employed by the Government speakers in Toronto lacked courage, and in this case courage would have been prudence. Whatever issues were dragged in, the factor of weight was prohibition. Surely it would have had a better moral effect to lose the seat explicitly on that ground than to befog the issue and lose all the same. But neither party held to any clear line. The cry that nickel was being exported to Germany was an issue of the moment only; but the ministers who raised the Orange standard have set a most unhappy precedent for the next election. Grant that Mr.

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\*See also Dean Goodwin's article on *Forest Fires*.

Bourassa is doubly wrong and wrong-headed in opposing the participation of Canada in the war, it is bad Canadianism and bad Imperialism to raise sectional issues in Ontario. Mr. Bourassa is wasting himself against an accomplished fact and happily he does not represent all Quebec. The best way to help him is to attack Quebec from outside. True, the bilingual question sets the two provinces at variance, but is not the part of wisdom there to preserve a masterly inactivity and refuse to allow a provincial matter to be discussed from outside? On every ground racial and religious questions ought to be left alone, unless some urgent principle is at stake.

The present controversy between the Minister of Public Works and Judge Galt raises questions far more important than the mere personal issue. After giving evidence in a case of suspected graft, Mr. Rogers, speaking as a citizen, informed the Commissioner that he had no legal right to take public money and that it was pure graft for a judge to receive fees in such an enquiry. The Minister of Public Works followed up this vindication of the purity of public life by apologizing to the people of Manitoba for assisting Mr. Galt to the bench. It would have been better if he had said less; for the public are tempted to ask what his department had to do with judicial appointments. A judge owes favour or gratitude to no man, and it is not seemly that the means or cause of his elevation to the bench should be spoken of in public. However, it is the general question which interests us here, and Mr. Rogers has justified his position by referring to a series of debates that took place in the House of Commons ten years ago. Unfortunately they do nothing to settle the general point. The bill which Mr. Lennox then introduced attempted to close some loopholes in the law forbidding provincial judges to be company directors or to engage in commercial transactions. That law still left them at liberty, in the opinion of many, to engage in private arbitration, and Mr. Lennox's bill was an attempt to stop the practice. But that bill, which was withdrawn, did not attempt to interfere with the right of the Crown to create commissions and appoint judges to them. It is true that several speakers objected in theory to the presence of judges on special commissions because they were plunged into an atmosphere prejudicial to their dignity—and one need



not go far to discover aggravated instances of this—but members who took this high tone were merely expressing an ideal, and their opinions in debate cannot affect law or practice. No law, then, prevents judges from doing such a service to the Crown. The financial question raises a nicer point. Undoubtedly it is the intention of the Judicial Acts to free judges as far as possible from provincial influences. For this reason provincial judges are paid by the Dominion. Payments to judges for work done on a Commission appear to infringe upon the spirit of this principle. But on the whole it seems fair to look at the general practice which the provinces have found convenient and an honourable profession has been willing to follow. The position of Judge Galt is supported by the practice of past commissions. It is arguable that the tradition should come to an end in the interests of the judiciary itself. But that a Minister, who had never previously opened his mouth on the subject, should publicly instruct a commissioner about his duty, and leave nothing undone to detract from his authority, is an intolerable thing; and the act is not bettered because it was ostensibly done to protect the dignity of the bench.

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An apparently trivial administrative change has rightly called forth protests from many sources, Canadian and English. It has been proposed to treat certain classes of wounded Canadian soldiers in separate hospitals. Doubtless there are arguments of convenience to recommend the scheme, but the weight of feeling is all against it. This is a golden opportunity for men from all parts of the Empire to learn each others' qualities. It is one thing to feel the unity of the Empire and even to fight for it; it is much more to add to these a fellow-feeling based on personal intimacy. Ordinarily such intercourse is limited by the vast size of the Empire; at a time when men swarm from the ends of the earth in a common cause the opportunity ought not to be thrown away. A State, says Plato, is really one when all men in it *feel* together, and that best comes by personal contact. No one has ever accused Sir Sam Hughes of being fettered by red tape, and we may confidently hope that he will reconsider the proposal.

## THE UNITED STATES.

Observers from this side of the border may perhaps be excused by our neighbours if, in the stress of a great cataclysm, we ask first what effect the election of either candidate will have on foreign policy. There is the more reason for this question because it *will* thrust itself forward as a dominant issue in the contest. But in the United States the question for the electors is, in a sense, purely historical. Mr. Hughes will carry the votes of Germans because he has a clean record from their peculiar standpoint, and is reasonably careful not to compromise it. On the other hand, many among the educated classes will vote with ardour against the President who maintains a neutral feeling despite numberless atrocities that a less well-regulated heart would find intolerable. We are allowed to quote a typical letter from a former supporter of Mr. Wilson. ‘“Thinking neutrally” has no attraction for me. I think we might perhaps much better have done as Japan did and be entitled to a voice in the world conference which will determine the course of affairs for the next fifty years or more. As it is, we shall be ignored indefinitely by both sides, the gains of the years from 1898 to 1913 thrown away. We should have suffered in small ways but would have gained in experience, position, and prestige. And we should probably have contributed only wealth and ships. . . . The present administration can hardly be exempt from criticism on the plea that our foreign affairs should not be dragged into politics and that these mistakes, if they were such, are incidents of the past. The mistakes give some indication of what we have always before us in the future.’ But representative as these sets of views are, it can hardly be said that the two extremes comprise the most considerable part of the electorate. The question that Mr. Wilson is evidently anxious to set before the nation is whether they wished for war or not. It cannot be doubted that the result of his policy, if not its every detail, does express the general sense of the United States. It would indeed be wonderful if it were otherwise. Few have the quickened sense of justice which is moved to sacrifice by wrongs on the other side of the earth, and the most cherished tradition of the nation warns it to keep clear of the quarrels of the old world. The time when such isolation was possible is indeed



over, but the West has not learned to see with the eyes of the Eastern States. Those who have travelled West report that the interest in the war steadily grows more tepid as they journey, and even though the sentiment may be on the whole pro-Ally, there is a sense that the warring peoples are misbehaving and should be rather ashamed of themselves. Professor Gilbert Murray tells of a friend of his who stayed last year in a summer camp in the Middle West, and never once heard the European war mentioned. 'One night, as they looked over a moonlit lake, a young student spoke thoughtfully of the peacefulness of the scene, and the contrast it made with the terrible sufferings of mankind elsewhere. My friend agreed, and murmured something about the sufferings of Europe. 'Lord, I wasn't thinking of Europe,' said the young man: 'I was thinking of the thunderstorms in Dakota.' It was at such thinkers that Mr. Wilson's question was aimed.

Whichever candidate is elected, it is extremely unlikely that the conduct of foreign affairs will exhibit a marked change. No man can foretell what new strain Germany may place upon American forbearance, but probably diplomacy will find a way out. A bungler of the first water would be needed to plunge two nations into war when both are determined to avoid it. But no abstention from the war by the United States can render its influence impotent afterwards, as the writer of the letter quoted above seems to fear. It is true that the Allies will hardly admit its representatives to a say in the settlement with Germany. That follows both from Mr. Wilson's own diplomacy, since he has kept aloof from European issues, and from the intense feeling of Allied peoples that those who make the sacrifices are most competent to decide the issue. But in so far as the Great Powers attempt to devise safeguards against future wars, the co-operation of the United States must and will be sought. The responsible heads of the Republican and Democratic parties have welcomed proposals to establish a league for enforcing peace. That is good news. But if the league is really to prevent war, and not to deceive itself and the world by decorously maintaining peace till some one strong enough desires to break it, then the nations must make genuine sacrifices. Is public opinion in the United States ready to face these? For such a task the fugi-

tive and cloistered virtue of Mr. Bryan and his like are worthless. We simply return to the self-deception of the years before the war if we are content with vague assurances that all nations will combine to oppose the peacebreaker. They must be fit to contend with him and beat him. But it is no slight labour to train the imagination and consciences of the great nations to such self-sacrifice in preparation against a possible danger. Can Mr. Wilson or Mr. Hughes persuade their nation that the next European war will be their affair and at the same time proclaim that the war is not their concern and that they are not interested in its causes? The prize of world-peace, like every other valuable thing, is gained by aspirations and promises. In Miltonic phrase, it is to be won 'not without dust and heat.'

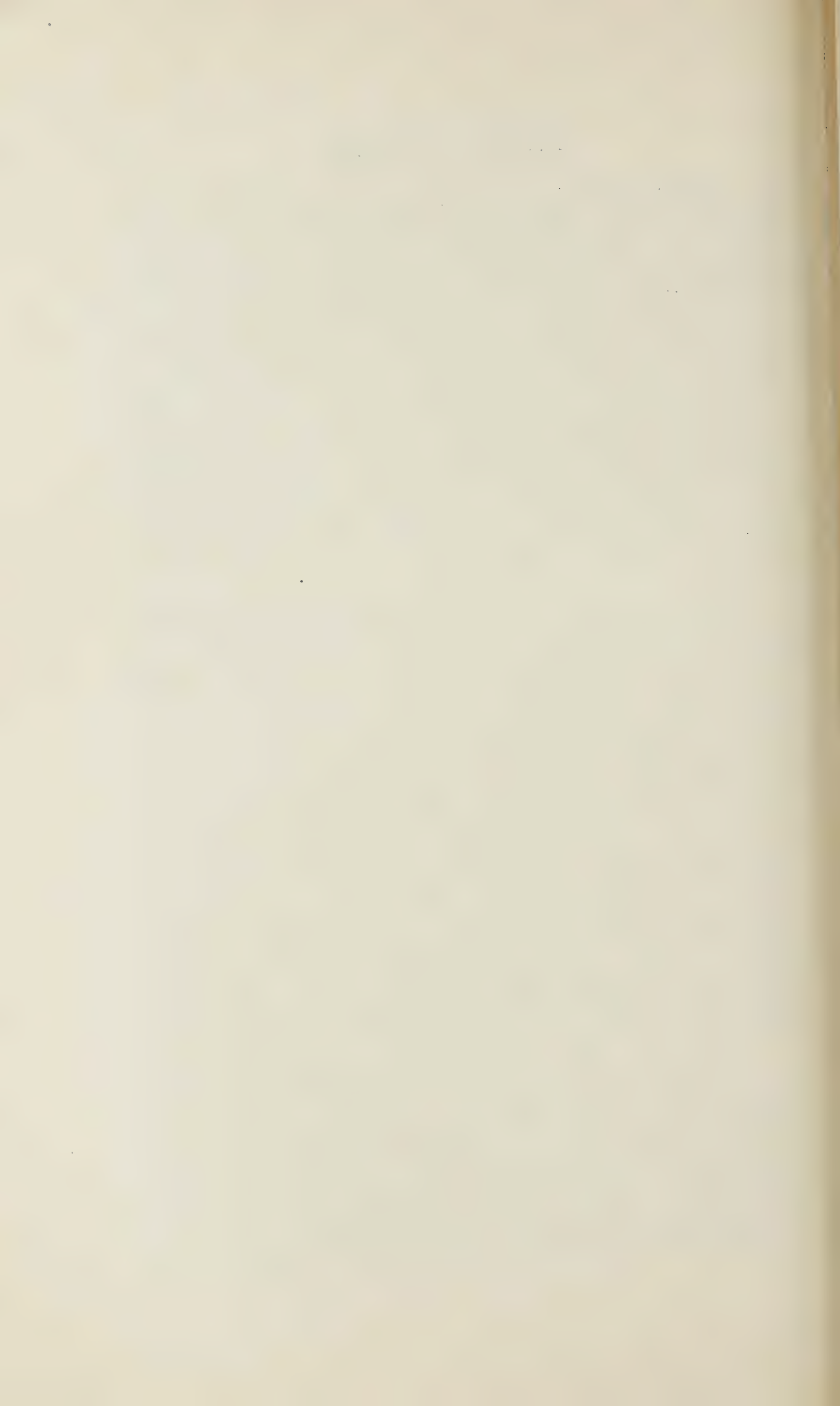
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The appearance of submarines off the Atlantic coast has doubtless its importance in German internal politics, where at this moment the Chancellor is attempting to defend his policy. Our interest in the event is that at a stroke it demonstrates the futility of the old regulations governing sea warfare. But Mr. Wilson's interest must be more painful. If the submarines don't make any gross mistake, it is difficult to see how we can object to their presence. Practically, such operations violate the spirit of the Munroe doctrine. But the Germans are entitled to retort that they are practising at his doorstep the conduct which he has allowed to be legal in European waters, and that so long as American warships follow the submarines to pick up the passengers and crews who have walked the plank, the danger is of the smallest. Even if worse happens, it does not surpass what is happening every day in Europe without protest. For once the Germans appear to have logic on their side. That is no reason why their acts should be tolerated.

*Note.*—In the account of the German treatment of Professors Fredericq and Pirenne it was stated that they were still imprisoned. Since the note was written they have been permitted to work under surveillance in Jena University. It is gratifying to see that the Commonwealth of Letters still possesses some meaning for German scholars, to whose intervention this belated and partial release is due.

A. S. FERGUSON.









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# Queen's Quarterly.

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## A DUTCH UNIVERSITY.\*

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WE have passed by the Dutch Universities so long in our desire to absorb the culture of Germany, that we have known but little of the work of this small country in which there are real intellectual giants. At this time particularly, it is a source of great satisfaction to know that all of the university work of Europe is not at a standstill and that in Holland, almost surrounded by hostile forces and nearly always within the sound of the heavy guns in the North Sea or Belgium, university life remains almost undisturbed by the tremendous events transpiring all around it.

The following is a short account of a journey to the University of Leiden, and, since much of it is the result of personal experience, the first person is used rather freely.

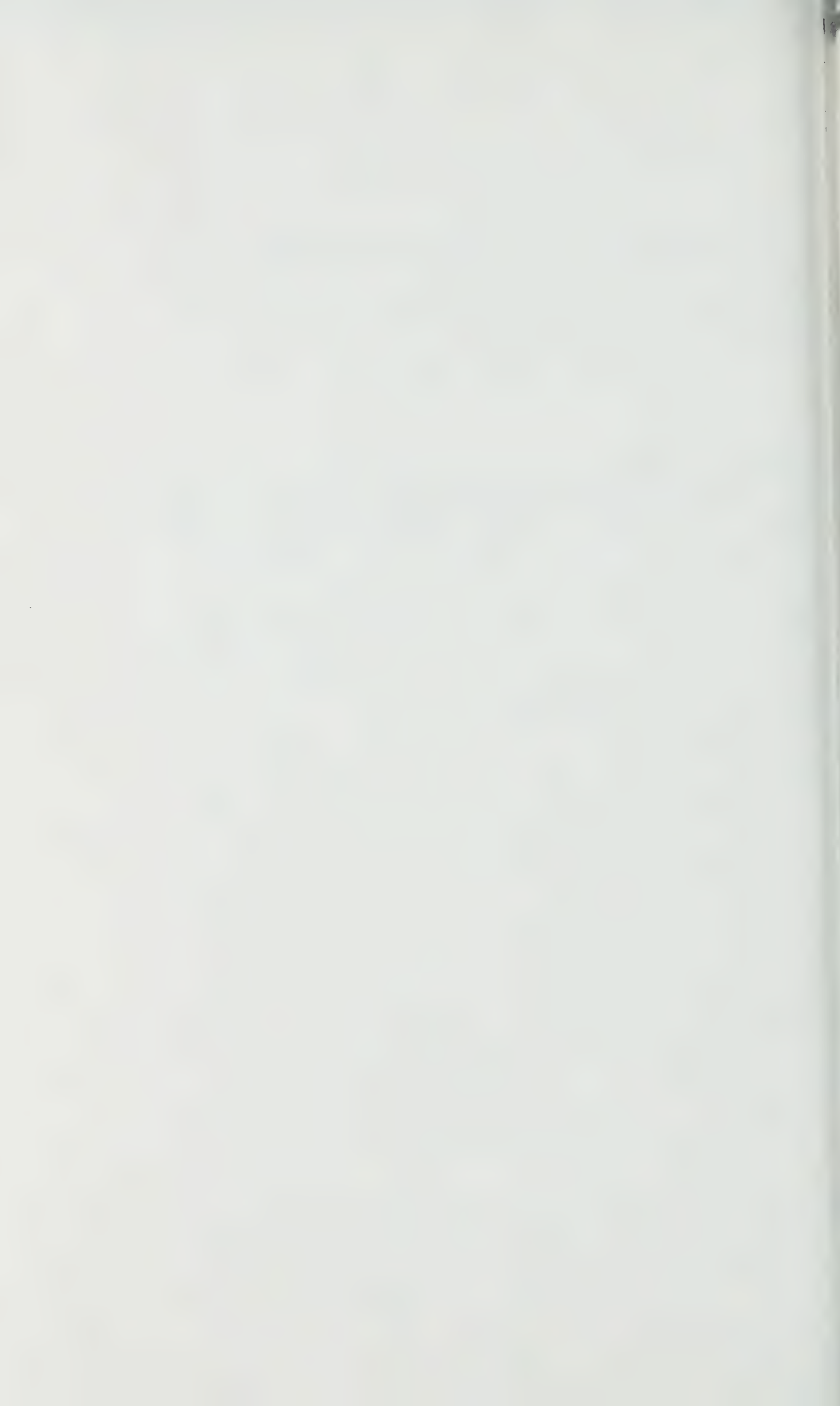
Last winter Professor Kamerlingh Onnes, the director of the physical laboratory at Leiden, invited me to undertake some work with him and his colleagues. A bit of work I had done had raised a question between us and it was partly in hope of settling this and partly to see and become acquainted with the work of his laboratory that I hastened to accept. His colleague, Professor Kuenen, whom some Queen's professors may remember as professor of Physics at Dundee, some ten years ago, is perhaps the leading authority on mixtures and their properties, a matter in which I was and am keenly interested. For the progress of my own researches, these were the two men who could give me the advice I needed, and the opportunity of working with them on low temperature research was very attractive.

I was not at all sure that I should get there, but it seemed worth trying. Ocean travel in these times is diverting, and

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\*A lecture given before the Queen's Alumni Conference.





particularly last March at just the time when the *Tubantia* and *Sussex* were torpedoed was decidedly interesting. The trip through the English Channel and the North Sea could hardly be called monotonous. White-faced shivering stewards, multiplication of life-rafts, piles of life-belts, life-boat drill, etc., gave a feeling of uncertainty. I was on a Holland-American liner from New York to Rotterdam, and I was interested in comparing our methods of sailing with those of transports and other boats to and from English ports. We were not convoyed at all, and instead of darkening the ship at night, we went along with every light blazing, and the ship's name, *Noordam*, in letters of light, three feet high, showing on either side.

Nearly all of our passengers disembarked at Falmouth and we were held there for twenty-four hours in that very beautiful harbor. We left New York with our decks covered with snow, while at Falmouth we found everything green, and could see the men plowing on the hillsides. Although we were not allowed ashore, the only disagreeable feature of our stay here was our confinement for many weary hours in the second cabin saloon while the passengers for England were examined. Then our turn came. Each one of us was examined by a group of English army officers, as to destination, purpose of journey, etc. A letter I carried from Principal Gordon to Professor Onnes, shortened my examination to the merest routine. These young men were exceedingly polite and considerate but had the appearance of not being in love with this kind of work. There were in the first cabin one German woman, nine Dutchmen, one Belgian, and myself—a very light list. The German woman came in for a very thorough examination at the hands of a most competent looking lady examiner, but was allowed to proceed. The night we lay in Falmouth harbor every light was extinguished, or covered, so that not a single ray should betray the location of the harbor to hovering Zeppelins. From Falmouth to Rotterdam was, of course, the most exciting part of the journey where the nervous tension constantly increased. We were held again at Deal for a day, and our ship's papers, which had been removed at Falmouth, came on board again, having been taken to London, examined and sent on. We lost three of our passengers at Deal in a second examination by





British naval officers. These people were evidently Germans, and came from the second cabin. On the journey from Falmouth to Deal and on through the North Sea, one gets an idea of the magnitude of Britain's task of controlling the seas. Scout boats everywhere, many of them carrying business-like looking guns at the bow, destroyers, singly or in groups, monitors, hydro-aeroplanes, and the mine sweepers keeping the channel clear make it possible for supply ships and transports to keep their uninterrupted procession to and from the continent, as though there were no such things as U-boats. I counted fifty boats at anchor at Deal, where they must all stop for examination before proceeding. It was at that time, last March, a very busy place.

Leaving Deal, we skirted the English coast for a few hours and then turned sharply to the east and crossed the really dangerous part of the North Sea. Here there was much wreckage, such as boxes, parts of boats, even pillows floating on the water, which told the story of what had happened and what might happen again. The fact that our boat had struck a mine on a previous trip made officers and crew very anxious. But we saw neither mines nor submarines. The sea was calm, the sun was bright, and it was difficult to believe in the reality of the danger. In our small party of eleven, not counting the German lady who was not very popular, we became very well acquainted with each other and with the ship's officers. The captain asked me if I expected to get to Holland, and when I replied, "I hope so," he said: "Hope so, that is the way to talk of going to Holland nowadays." We passed a tug at anchor and the word came from her that the divers were searching for the wreck of the *Tubantia*, and thought that they had located her. Soon after we came to the Noord Hinder, the Dutch lightship, and all danger was over. We anchored at the mouth of the Maas to wait for the tide and the next morning found ourselves at the dock in Rotterdam.

While in British waters, we carried a large black cone in the rigging in the bow, which is the sign carried by all ships trading with Holland that the cargo is consigned to the Netherlands Oversea Trust, or N.O.T., as it is called. This is an organization founded by the president of one of the big Dutch





oversea trading firms doing business with Java and Sumatra. In the early days of the war there is little doubt that many imports were received to be transhipped to Germany. Britain felt the necessity of stopping all imports to Germany through neutral countries and made it clear to these countries that this sort of trade must stop. If it did not, they were in danger of having all their trade stopped. Holland's colonial trade is absolutely necessary to her and it would never do to have it cut off. It became necessary in some way to co-operate with Britain. While the government could not do this, it could be done by individuals, so the N.O.T. was formed, which virtually says to Britain, "we will not allow any imports to reach Germany," and the way this promise is carried out is somewhat as follows: Every one who imports goods into Holland must do so through the Overseas Trust; he must deposit with the Trust a bond the amount of which is the full market value of the cargo, and must guarantee that none of it, either in the raw state or converted into manufactured articles, shall get to Germany. The bond will be kept by the Trust until the end of the war, and the interest on it keeps the machinery of the Trust going. If the guarantee is not kept, and any of the material gets to Germany, the bond is forfeited. From a small affair of twelve men the Trust has grown until over one thousand people are employed, who not only carry on the business but keep track of the goods even to the retail dealers. The following outline of the Trust's work was taken from its advertisement in *La Gazette de Hollande*, a little paper printed daily in both French and English at the Hague. It shows the scope of its operation.

*Netherlands Oversea Trust, THE HAGUE.*

		<i>Address</i>
DEPT. No. 1.	[ Secretariat . . . . .	Noordeinde 35.
	{ General Affairs . . . . .	" 35.
	General Affairs II . . . . .	Paleisstraat 2.
	{ General Statistics . . . . .	Parkstraat 105.
" "	2. General Correspondence . . . . .	Noordeinde 35.
" "	3. Consents . . . . .	Lange Voorhout 27.
" "	4. Contracts . . . . .	Parkstraat 107/9.
	(Files) . . . . .	" 107.
	(Writing of contracts) . . . . .	Alexanderstraat 13.





"	"	5. Bills of Lading .....	Parkstraat 18.
		(German) . . . . .	" "
		(Postal parcels) . . . . .	" "
		(Administration expenditure) ..	" "
		(Auxiliary Cash) . . . . .	" "
		(Statistics) . . . . .	" 22.
"	"	6. Bookkeeping (Cash) . . . . .	Oranjestraat 13.
"	"	7. Control . . . . .	" "
"	"	8. Linseed . . . . .	Mauritskade 47.
"	"	9. Telegrams . . . . .	Nassaulaan 18.
"	"	10. For Shopkeepers' Associations, etc.	Lange Voorhout 27.
"	"	11. Complaints and Information ....	Oranjestraat 13.
"	"	12. Grain and Cattle Fodder .....	Mauritskade 47.
"	"	13. Guarantees . . . . .	Parkstraat 27.
"	"	14. Cotton, Wool, Asbestos, Cocoa, Capoc	" 4.
"	"	15. Advisers . . . . .	" 105.
Distribution Bureau for Hides and Tanning Ma-			Mauritskade 47.
terials . . . . .			
Commission for Netherlands Trade .....			Oranjestraat 13.
Sub-Commission A for Netherlands Oversea in-			
terests . . . . .			Laan van Meerderv't 7a
Sub-Commission B for Foreign Trade .....			Amaliastraat 2.
Bureau for Edible Fats and Oils .....			Nassaulaan 18.
Commission of Experts .....			" "
Margarine Consumption Control Bureau .....			" "
N.O.T. Advisory Commission, Oils and Fats sec.			" "
N.O.T. Bureau to Supervise the Consumption of			
Fats, Oils and Oil-bearing Nuts .....			" "
Wool Commission . . . . .			Parkstraat 27.
Commission in respect of the Feeding of Man and			
Beast (Royal Netherlands Relief Committee)			Amaliastraat 2.
Export Bureau (Department of Finance) .....			" "
<hr/>			
Warehouse of Printed Matter .....			Mauritskade 47.
"	"	Office Requisites . . . . .	Noordeinde 35.
Installation Bureau . . . . .			Paleisstraat 2.

One consignment of cocoa beans came into the country through the Trust and was made into chocolate and distributed to the dealers. German agents quietly collected this chocolate in small quantities from the retailers until a large amount was gathered and shipped to Germany. The Trust agents at the border discovered it and immediately notified the dealers and importers that if this happened again the supply of cocoa would be stopped entirely. The regulations of the Trust are very rigid, and carried out most thoroughly, as the following





will show. A friend of mine had married an English woman, and wished to bring some household furniture to Holland from her home. The Trust agents demanded the regular bond and my friend finally settled with them by promising to allow them access to his house whenever they wished, to see if the furniture were still there, and had not been shipped to Germany. Thus it is seen that Holland is a compulsory ally of Great Britain. Of course, the strength of the Trust is after all the British Fleet, which might stop all trade if the regulations of the Trust were evaded too frequently. It may be said safely that almost no imported articles get to Germany through Holland. This is not the case, however, with produce raised at home. Export of cattle and vegetables are enabling the farmers to reap a harvest of guilders. In the fish trade, measures restricting exports have been adopted which are being tightened gradually. I heard many demands for stopping all shipments of food from Holland owing to the tremendous rise in prices.

I shall not soon forget the morning we arrived at Rotterdam. Not knowing any Dutch, and being quite alone, I was puzzled to know how to get to the station. There were no cabs at the dock, and, after waiting for a long time, I finally got a big Dutchman who came by with a push cart to load my baggage on to the cart, and off we went across the city, he pushing and I walking behind. Of how I got my tickets and into the train to the Hague and, after two days there, how I got to Leiden, I remember very little, but travelling in Holland is very easy and knowledge of English widespread. One of the first things I noticed was the great number of soldiers marching through the streets and drilling in the open field. In front of the hotel at The Hague is an open field, much like our own cricket-field in Kingston, and squads of recruits were receiving instruction. The uniform was bluer than the one which is now so familiar to us, but at a distance the men looked much the same as we see here. There are 250,000 men actually on war footing and most of these are on the German border. At that time there were 600,000 in training with an additional 200,000 to be called out. The expense for maintenance of the army is about \$8,000,000 per month. Service in the Dutch army is compulsory and the men are called out in drafts as needed.





I was glad to arrive finally at Leiden, described by Lucas as, "a paradise of clean quiet streets, a city of professors, students and soldiers." It is the birthplace of Rembrandt, Jan Steen, Gerard Dou, the home of Grotius, Boerhaave, Arminius, and many other famous men, and is now the seat of the most famous low temperature laboratory in the world. The streets for the most part are narrow and crooked, and without sidewalks. Bicycles, military motor cycles, street cars and automobiles make the life of the new-comer full of alarms. Some of the canals are very beautiful, but the odor is quite otherwise, as the water is stagnant, with neither in-flow nor out-flow, save when the gates at Nordwyk are opened at low tide to let water out into the sea. The canals are really not much better than a huge open sewer, and malaria is not uncommon, as I found to my discomfort.

Old Leiden is completely surrounded by a series of canals or Singels as they are called, which were once a part of the protective works of the city. Some of these, the Witte Singel and the Zoeterwoudsche Singel, are very attractive, especially when the horse chestnut trees, which line their banks, are in full bloom. On many of the smaller canals or ditches, which serve as fences, there is a vegetable growth which is a brilliant red with a trace of green on the edges of the very small leaves. It is said to have been imported from Canada, but I never saw anything like it before. I thought of Professor MacClement, and wished that he might take his Botany class for an excursion here. Holland is the land of flowers and the tulips and hyacinths are beyond my power of description. The best way to see them is from the train between Leiden and Haarlem, in the heart of the bulb country. What from the train is a solid mass of colors, becomes individual flowers and ugly straw when seen too near, while all around are the bare hedges with a few brown leaves, not pleasant to the eye. The hyacinths, especially the dark purple varieties, are more wonderful even than the tulips, although the later Darwin tulips are very beautiful. The soil seems to be a remarkably light loam of very fine texture.

A young artist friend suggested a stroll one day, and took me first to St. Pieterskerk, the largest church of Leiden, built in the early fourteenth century by the Roman Catholics. Many





of Leiden's famous men rest beneath the stone flags of the floor. Apparently no one goes to church nowadays, at least I found no one who would go. The service is very dull, the sermons doctrinal, the hymns are droned sleepily and the collection baskets are passed four or five times during the service, so that the uninitiated spends rather more than he expects, or must decline to contribute to later offerings altogether. If these things are not enough to keep people away from church, the men and women are not allowed to sit together but must take their seats on opposite sides of the church.

This young artist was a sergeant in the army and had been in service since the beginning of the war. He told me many interesting things, one in particular impressed me. The Dutch army was mobilized four days before the war broke out, and was ready at the German frontier to repel an invasion; if such were attempted. No one seems to know the source of the information, but the Dutch say that this is what kept them from the plight of Belgium. Feeling against Germany is very strong, as the cartoons by Raemaekers show. The Dutch are justly proud of him, and his works seem to be as acceptable to a large portion of the Dutch people as to us. One very effective cartoon shows the attitude of the Dutch to the suffering Belgians. While so much of the history of the two peoples is common, the feeling between the countries has not always been of the best, but the coming of the Hun gave the Dutch people an opportunity to display their brotherhood. It has been said that there is no tenderness in the Dutch character, and in some respects this criticism seems justified, but in their home and family life there is no lack, and in their treatment of the Belgian refugees they have certainly disproved the statement. Holland carries a great burden with the hundreds of thousands of refugees, the 21,000 Belgian soldiers interned at Zeist, the 4000 English at Gronigen, and the small body of Germans at Bergen, to say nothing of the burden of the large standing army.

Regarding the sentiments of the Dutch concerning the war, of course my one language brought me in touch with pro-ally people more than others, but I took some pains to ask my friends about it, and the answer always was, "strong for the cause of the allies." The government and the higher offi-





cers of the army are pro-German, while the common people and the army itself are anti-German in most cases. Where there is pro-German feeling amongst the people, it is largely among the Roman Catholics, for reasons I do not understand. Roughly speaking, the division in Holland is much as it is in Greece and in Sweden. In Holland it is not difficult to explain. Germany is very near and has been very closely related in trade and education with the Dutch. Prince Henry—a stupid fellow—is German, so the Queen is inclined that way. The army is patterned after the German army, so the higher officers naturally incline to German support. The Queen is, however, above everything else, pro-Dutch, and may be counted on to do what she thinks best for her country. A young captain in the army, a pro-German, told me that he thought that nine-tenths of the people were anti-German. The plight of Belgium is very real to Holland and she does not intend to suffer in the same way. Her people are not warlike but are determined to maintain their neutrality. Mr. Van Dyke, the American ambassador, told me, “if Holland is drawn into the war, it will be as her interests dictate rather than her sentiments.” And her interests will not take her to the side of Germany.

The Breestraat is the principal street of Leiden, on which there are many fine old buildings. Running to the south is the Rapenburg, one of the finest of the canals, and on its western bank is the university. The first time I came to it, I was not certain that I was at the proper place, but after waiting for a few minutes I saw a great many young men and women whom I knew to be students, who look much alike everywhere. I finally picked out an intelligent looking youth and asked if he spoke English. “A little,” he said. They always say, “a little.” So I asked if he could tell me where I could find Professor Omnes. The reply was, “I don’t know, you might ask the porter.” He finally agreed to help me and we went inside and found, not the porter, but his daughter, who gave the necessary directions, “Professor Omnes would be at the *Physisch Laboratorium*, which is about a quarter of a mile down the Rapenburg.” Thus I came to the end of my journey.

State university education in the northern Netherlands dates from 1575, although there had been institutions where the culture of Italy had taken root, as at Groningen, Zwolle,





and Deventer. Anyone wishing a university degree had to go to Bologna or Padua, Paris or Orleans, Marburg, Heidelberg or Cologne, or across the channel to Britain. There were universities at Douai and Louvain in the south, but these were closed to the students from the north. When Holland rose up against Spanish domination in 1568, a fierce struggle for political and religious rights began which after 80 years led to the recognition of the Republic of the United Netherlands. The early years of the rebellion were disastrous to the Dutch, but eventually their great leader, William the Silent, through the brave resistance at Alkmaar and Leiden and the raising of the siege at Leiden was able to drive the Spaniards out. The siege of Leiden was raised only by opening the dykes, inundating the land all about the city. This weapon of the low countries, used by the Belgians to stop the expedition to Calais, is ever ready to serve intruders in this same fashion. So much of the country is below the water level that many square miles may be inundated in a few hours.

The bravery of the people of Leiden during this siege is of the same kind as has been shown in Belgium in the past two years. They fought with only one thought, that of resistance. During the siege of Leiden, according to Motley, some of the people, disheartened by starvation and the failure of the Prince to help them, urged the burgomaster, Adrian van der Werf, to surrender. He replied, "My life is at your disposal; here is my sword, plunge it into my breast and divide my flesh among you. Take my body to appease your hunger, but expect no surrender so long as I live." Back they went to the walls and this is what came down to the ears of the Spaniards: "Ye call us rat-eaters and dog-eaters. It is true. So long then as ye hear a dog bark or a cat mew within these walls, ye may know that the city holds out. And when all have perished, be sure we will each devour our left arm retaining our right, to defend our women, our liberty and religion against the foreign tyrant. Should God in His wrath doom us to destruction and deny us all relief, even then we will maintain ourselves forever against your entrance. When the last hour has come, with our own hands we will set fire to the city and perish, men, women, and children together in the flames, rather than suffer





our bones to be polluted and our liberties crushed." This spirit is not dead and if the Germans try to cross Holland it will rise up again.

Eventually the siege was raised and relief came in boats sailing over the inundated country, aided by high winds that rolled the water in over the land to a depth great enough for their purpose, on the very night that a great portion of the wall fell down through which the Spaniards might have passed. According to tradition, which I found smiled at by my friends, the University of Leiden was founded as a reward to the heroic defenders. The story is that the Prince offered the people of Leiden relief from taxes, or a university, and that they chose the latter. That the university came here as a reward is true perhaps, but the people were probably given no such choice. The want of higher educational facilities had been keenly felt and a University was needed as a training college for theologians, which the Prince described as "a strong bulwark in the struggle for the freedom of the faith." Theology was the important thing for which the University was founded, although this was not stated openly. It seemed necessary to get the University established before peace negotiations were completed, so plans were hastily carried out, even though the financial condition of the country was very bad. The University of Leiden came into being on January 6, 1575, and was established in the name of the King by the Prince of Orange, who commanded its erection and forbade any other in the provinces of Zeeland and Holland. Others followed in the north at Franeker, Groningen, Utrecht, Harderwyk, and Deventer. When the Netherlands were annexed to France in 1810, only Leiden was left as a part of the Imperial University of Paris. The others were reduced to secondary schools, but after the Restoration, in 1813, were revived. Those at Harderwyk and Franeker have since died out, leaving only Leiden, Groningen and Utrecht. Later the Polytechnic School at Delft was promoted to University grade, and these four together with the Municipal University at Amsterdam are now the seats of higher learning in Holland. There is also a private university in Amsterdam, which does not form part of the state system.





These four universities are organized and governed in the same way, and have equal rights, but at Amsterdam there are some differences in the manner of making appointments and the regulation of salaries, these matters being handled by the municipal authorities. In the others, all appointments are made by the Queen and salaries are fixed by the State. Each university is governed by a board of five curators, who are the intermediaries between the government and the university. The annual budget passes through their hands, and they submit names to the Queen for the appointment of professors. They submit names of other officials to the Minister of the Interior, and also see that the laws are complied with.

Instruction is given by ordinary professors, extraordinary professors, and lecturers appointed by the Queen, and private tutors. The ordinary professors together form the Senate and receive from 4000 to 6000 guilders per year, equivalent to about \$2500, but worth about \$5000 in Holland. They may not hold other positions except by royal consent, but may carry on consulting work. This permission is stretched by the medical profession to include operative surgery. One of these professors, usually in order of seniority, is chosen each year by the Queen as Rector Magnificus. He always serves as secretary of the faculty during the year preceding his appointment. The Rector has to maintain discipline among the students and deliver an address on his retirement which takes place at the beginning of the academic year. A committee of four professors together with the Rector form a Board of Assessors for the government of the university. These are usually retired rectors, and one is chosen from each faculty. Ordinary professors retire at the age of seventy. Each professor, after appointment, delivers an inaugural address before the assembled university. This takes place in the great auditorium, and is usually some contribution to the field of learning in which he is working.

The salaries of extraordinary professors and lecturers vary very much and the distinctions between them are not clear. Private tutors are unpaid, but must obtain permission from the Minister of the Interior to teach and must have a





doctor's degree which, however, is not necessary for professors and lecturers.

The academic year begins on the third Monday in September, when the retiring rector delivers his address, in which he sums up the achievements of the year. The year ends on the second Saturday in July, and there are no closing exercises.

There are five faculties: Theology, which is the oldest; Law, Medicine, Mathematics and Natural Science, or Faculty of Natural Philosophy, and the Faculty of Arts. The fees are \$80 per year for all except divinity students, who pay only \$40. After four yearly payments, no further fees are required. These fees cover all lectures which a student may wish to take. There is an examination fee of \$20, and when applying for examination the student must present a certificate from the Gymnasium.<sup>3</sup> The only degree given by the university is that of doctor in the particular subject in which the candidate is working.

The Dutch boy or girl begins school at about five and attends the lower schools and then enters the Gymnasium or High School in either of which he spends six years. In the Gymnasium, considerable time is spent on the classics; in the High School, science replaces the classics. This seems to be about the only difference. Since the classics are necessary for the doctor's degree, students who have attended the High School must get off the classics before they can receive the Gymnasium certificate necessary for permission to take the doctor's examination. This certificate seems to be all that is necessary, and there seem to be no entrance examinations to the university.

The student comes up for his doctor's examination whenever he feels that he is ready. The Dutch students do most of their work in the holidays, and apparently very little during the university session. Attendance on lectures is not compulsory, and these lectures may have no relation to the candidates' examinations. They are given by men who are leaders in their own fields and are frequently on entirely new work, and there is very little actual teaching. For example, the students in Physics last year met Professor Lorentz, one hour





per week, to hear him discuss Einstein's new Theory of Gravitation. They met Professor Onnes one hour per week for discussion of the new work in the laboratory and its meaning. Students may attend lectures or not as they like, and some never attend, although in the Department of Physics attendance is very regular. The students read for examinations and there is much cramming, a very bad feature.

There are no dormitories at Leiden, and the students live around the city much as they do at Queen's, and enjoy great freedom. While relations with professors are most cordial, there is a wider separation between staff and students than here. Rowing seems to be the only sport that receives much attention, although football is becoming more and more popular.

The candidate must pass two examinations, the intermediate and the final. Medical students are required to pass a preliminary examination in Science and the Theological students in Hebrew and Hebrew Antiquities. The intermediate examination is oral and lasts from one to three hours. The final examination is divided into two parts which are also oral. After the first part, of a rather general nature, the candidate is given a topic on which to write an essay, to be discussed in the later examination, which follows soon after the first. When he has passed these examinations, he writes a dissertation on a subject chosen by himself in consultation with one of the professors called the "Promoter", and to this dissertation, at least twelve theses must be added. The dissertation and theses are printed and sent to the professors and to others, if the candidate wishes. Then comes the final ordeal, the defence of the theses, which takes place in the Senate room in the presence of the Senate. Criticism is allowed to those who have the Rector's permission. This final exercise is attended with great ceremony. The candidate or "defendens" chooses two of his friends, "paranymphs", who arrange everything for him. They arrange the dinner which he gives, escort him to the examination hall, accompanied usually by the father, mother and sweetheart of the candidate. These guests are provided with a room where they remain while the candidate is undergoing his final test. The paranymphs escort the can-





didate to a little room just outside the Senate room, known as the *Zweetkamertjie* or little sweating room, where the candidate awaits the summons to the Senate room. These few moments in this room are probably the most uncomfortable in his whole university career. When he is called, the two attendants escort him to the Senate room and stand one on either side, to render any assistance, such as, providing a glass of water, or anything else that may be needed. They finally escort him from the room to his waiting friends and if the result of the examination is successful the dinner follows with many wild pranks. I was told that as soon as the defence of the theses was completed, the new doctor's hat is destroyed as a symbol that a new hat is now needed. This custom seems to be a relic of the old days of "promotion with cap."

As mentioned above, there is a difference between the students from the Gymnasium and from the High Schools. The students from the latter are deficient in classics and this deficiency must be made good before the candidate may proceed to his examination. Since many of the men are from the High School, there is much grumbling at this requirement, and pressure to remove it is getting stronger and stronger. It seems rather a pity that in a university where less than half a century ago all lectures were given in Latin, the classics should now be on the defensive with the prospect of being removed altogether from the list of requirements for the doctor's degree.

Many theological students finish their university work with the intermediate examination. After this they pass an ecclesiastical examination before their professors and finally a pulpit examination before a clerical committee. While the university was founded for Theological students and the work in Theology has made a world-wide impression on Theological thought, perhaps the faculties of Medicine and Natural Philosophy are the most important at the present time and have been for many years.

It was at Leiden that Boerhaave, in the middle of the eighteenth century, won the reputation of being the greatest





physician of Europe. It is said that a letter from China addressed to

Professor Boerhaave,  
Famous Physician,  
Europe,

reached him. It was at Leiden that the Science of Anatomy became the glory of Dutch Medical instruction. In the sixteenth century, nowhere in Europe, save possibly in Italy, could the student take up the study of the structure of the human body under a proficient teacher. Occasionally at some university a subject would be dissected by an incompetent assistant, it being beneath the dignity of the professor to do this work. In Holland, however, the study of Anatomy became of the greatest importance and the clinical lectures were delivered by the very best men, who did their own demonstrating. How popular this subject became is evident to every one who visits the picture galleries at The Hague and Amsterdam. Here are many famous pictures of Anatomy lessons. There is one in one of the rooms in the Medical Faculty at Leiden, showing an Anatomy lesson by Pieter Pauw painted about the middle of the seventeenth century. The best of all is, of course, Rembrandt's Anatomy lesson at the Mauritshuis at The Hague. The faces of the onlookers, who by the way are not students but members of the medical profession, are marvelously well done. There is another by Rembrandt in the Ryksmuseum in Amsterdam. Then there are many others in the same museum by other artists of lesser fame. These paintings give us some idea of the importance of the subject of Anatomy in Holland in the seventeenth century. To-day the Medical Faculty at Leiden is of the very highest grade. The hospital facilities are excellent and the laboratory complete. The university has its own hospital, and the laboratories are probably as good as any in the world. The course for Medical students is seven years, in which one or two are spent on the purely scientific subjects. The Medical students are more numerous than those of other faculties.

Of course, I was most interested in the Faculty of Natural Philosophy, which to-day is perhaps the best known. It has counted such names on its list as Huyghens, s'Gravesande,





Musschenbroek, Snell, Bosscha, van der Waals, Kamerlingh Onnes, Lorentz and Zeemann, either as professors or students. The last four have been recipients of the Nobel prize, a distinction which has come to no other university. My work brought me into close association with Professor Kamerlingh Onnes and his colleague, Kuenen, but I met Lorentz, Zeemann and many others at the Royal Academy of Amsterdam to which I was invited by Professor Zeemann. While in Amsterdam I called on Professor van der Waals, an old man of eighty-four, who is still keenly interested in the work that he initiated in Leiden nearly a half century ago. The evening of the meeting of the Royal Academy was a memorable one to me. The exercises began with tea, after which we sat around the table where all of the leading Dutch physicists, some of them the greatest in the world, were gathered, and we heard Professor Zeemann explain some of his recent experiments in Optics. We then adjourned to his laboratory where the experiments were demonstrated and, fortunately for me, the explanations were repeated in English. We then went back for more tea, after which there was a very lively discussion.

Any account of the University of Leiden would be incomplete without a brief description of the work of the physical laboratory. For thirty years Professor Kamerlingh Onnes has been building up the low temperature laboratory, which is without doubt the best of its kind in the world. The Dutch government, realizing how much the future may depend on discoveries in pure Science and also having great pride in its university system, encourages its professors to engage in research to the extent that they are able to relinquish nearly all of their teaching and to devote themselves to the development of their own subjects. They have plenty of time to think quietly, unharassed by student exercises, financial difficulties, or committee and faculty meetings. The work of a Dutch university professor is his life and comes before everything else.

The organization of the laboratory at Leiden is wonderfully complete and efficient. For such work as is being done there, a great many trained assistants are needed. So Professor Kamerlingh Onnes has developed a school for the train-





ing of experts, such as glass-blowers, electricians and instrument makers. After these become proficient, they are put in charge of machines or processes in the laboratory. Boys from less wealthy homes, who are ambitious and wish to better themselves, are received into this school for instrument makers at about sixteen years of age, if they are recommended by their school teachers. The course which they take is of six years duration. They serve as apprentices to the glass-blower, in the machine or wood working shops, or as electricians. Five nights per week they attend the evening High School, where they study Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Elementary Engineering. Each year there are severe examinations which they must pass or repeat the work. At the end of the course they find employment in Professor Kamerlingh Onnes' laboratory, or obtain positions as instrument makers in other laboratories, and they are in demand wherever they are known. So there is an abundance of trained assistants at hand in Leiden, and if any experiment is projected a young man makes the drawings and the mechanics build the apparatus, so that in an incredibly short time the experiment is finished. One is able to accomplish in a few weeks what would take as many months anywhere else. The assistants show the keenest interest in the work of the laboratory and are most accommodating and generous with their time.

All of Professor Kamerlingh Onnes' students work on his problems and no work is done which does not contribute in some way to his general plan. Fortunately my work fitted in and I was allowed to come in as a guest and everything was done which could be done to make my stay a success. I worked with Professor Kuenen, trying to determine some matters connected with the liquefaction of air. This was so closely related to my own previous work that I was able to handle it quite easily. In connection with this research I was able to study the organization and methods of the laboratory in detail. Nothing was hidden and I could secure all the information I wished. Apparatus, methods and plans were freely discussed. My own disagreement with Professor Onnes was not entirely settled, but we were able to agree upon a crucial experiment which I expect to undertake as soon as a liquid air plant is installed here at Queen's.





## *A DUTCH UNIVERSITY.*

Our experiments at Leiden were entirely successful and we were able to fix definitely the temperature and pressure at which liquefaction of air is possible. Before I left Leiden further work on mixtures of oxygen and nitrogen was projected and determination of the viscosity of hydrogen at the critical point was offered me for development at a future "orientation" as Professor Kamerlingh Onnes called it. But these problems would require a long time for solution and it is difficult to see how arrangements can be made for pursuing this very attractive plan. Perhaps there may be opportunities to carry on work of this kind at Queen's University.

Of the low temperature work at Leiden so much should be said that it may be left for treatment in a future paper.

A. L. CLARK.





## TENNYSON'S CLERICAL CHARACTERS.

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TENNYSON is the preacher's commonplace. Other poets have exercised a deeper influence on the few, but none have wielded so wide an influence on the many. Shakespeare alone supersedes Tennyson in his hold on the preacher's mind and heart. It is quite natural therefore that the preacher should attempt to discover what such a popular poet has to say about the clerical profession. And yet one has to confess that here is a seam that apparently has not been worked to any extent.

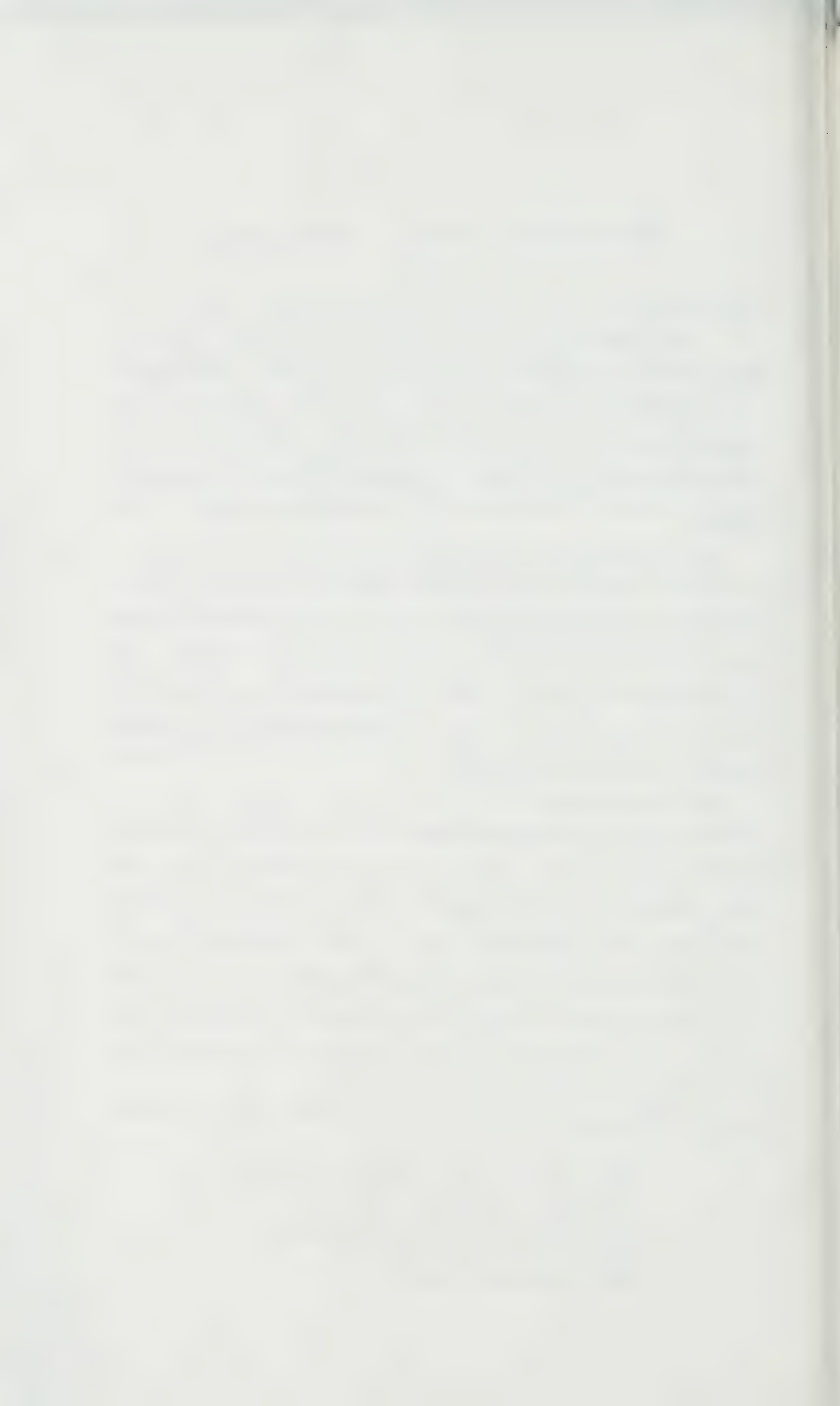
One circumstance encourages us in the commencement of our task, namely, that Tennyson himself was the son of a clergyman, and spent his early years in a Lincolnshire Rectory. It may be also added that it was the hope of his parents that he and his two brothers should take holy orders. Charles was the only one in whom this hope was realised in the literal sense of the word. Alfred, however, will be conceded to be a preacher in the larger understanding of the term with the English speaking world for his parish.

The associations of his alma mater, together with his strong love for the church brought him into contact with many types of clerical life. Nor are evidences lacking which show that especially during his younger days, he came into contact with the ministers and members of other religious bodies than Anglican. The "Methody Chap" of "The Northern Cobbler" is probably a reminiscence of the late Laureate's early days. Tennyson's view of the religious life of England was essentially the view as seen through the windows of an English Church Rectory. He is not to be blamed therefore if he never fully appreciated the influence of Nonconformity.

He was familiar enough with the village life of England which he describes in "Aylmer's Field"

"Where almost all the village had one name;  
Where Aylmer followed Aylmer at the Hall,  
And Averill, Averill at the Rectory  
Thrice over; so that Rectory and Hall,  
Bound in an immemorial intimacy,  
Were open to each other."





Tennyson knew the other side of English village life and could look at it through the cottage windows of the poor. The reverence felt for the kindly-hearted silvery-haired vicar by the humble villagers is well expressed by the dying May-Queen—

"O blessings on his kindly voice, and on his silver hair,  
And blessings on his whole life long, until he meet me there!  
O blessings on his kindly heart and on his silver head!  
A thousand times I blest him, as he knelt beside my bed."

The sentiments of the village pew for the pulpit were also well known to Tennyson. They are very accurately caught and faithfully reproduced in some of his dialect poems. It was in the village of Halton, when the Rev. Drummond Rawn-  
sley was the rector, that Gilbey Robinson, the farmer, gave the present Canon Rawn-  
sley the famous advice which the poet has preserved in "Churchwarden and the Curate"

"But creëap along the hedge bottoms and thou'll be a Bishop yit."  
A Curate in his respectable poverty was to some of these well-to-do farmers an object of pity. Tennyson was well aware of the struggles of the hard-working curate who had to keep up appearances in the social world on a slender salary. "The Northern Farmer", with a worldly wisdom characteristic of his time, did not anticipate with any satisfaction the love affair which Sammy his son persisted in with a poor girl. The Curate of the parish was used as a warning illustration against marrying for love.

"Why? fur he's nobbut a curate, and weänt niver git hissen clear  
An' 'e maäde the bed as 'e ligs on afoor 'e coom'd to the sherg,  
'An' 'thin 'e coom'd to the parish wi' lots o' varsity debt  
Stook to his taäil they did, an' 'e 'ant got shut on 'em yet,  
An' 'e ligs on his back i' the grip, wi' noan to lend 'im a shuvv,  
Woorse nor a' far-welter'd yowe; fur, Sammy, 'e married fur luvv."

Tennyson's close friendship with many of the outstanding leaders of the Anglican Church is one of the marked characteristics of the man. In none of his contemporaries is there anything approaching this wide range of clerical fellowship. One has only to scan the memoir written by Hallam Tennyson and that other excellent book by the same author, "Tennyson and his Friends" for abundant illustrations of this fact. With Dean Bradley, Dean Stanley, Frederick D. Maurice, the Master of Balliol, Dean Farrar, Boyd Carpenter, and many other such spirits he had much in common.





In a conversation he had with Dr. Warren, the President of Magdalen College, Tennyson said—"I think there is more religion among the parsons now than there once was, though they are very often ignorant about modern criticism and about the great religions of the world, and they certainly cannot read aloud. Did you ever hear, he asked, that story of Rawnsley's? The Clerk told him not to read the service so fast: "Fur you moost gie me toime, Mr. Rawnsley, you moost indeäd. You moost gie me toime, fur I've a graäceless wife an' two godless sons to praäy fur." He was a great public reader himself, and quick to appreciate the gift in others. On one occasion when the Maurices visited the Tennysons at Farringford, Mr. Maurice read family prayers. Mrs. Tennyson writing to a friend says, "Alfred rejoiced as much as I did in his reading and pronounced it the most earnest and holiest reading he had ever heard.

Frederick Dennison was a man after the poet's own heart. The breadth of his theological outlook, his humanitarian sympathies, which caused Maurice to be viewed with such suspicion by his brethren in the ministry were the qualities that specially appealed to Tennyson. This is very evident in the invitation which the poet sent to Mr. Maurice to spend some time with him in the Isle of Wight.

"Should eighty thousand college councils  
Thunder "Anathema", friend at you.  
Should all our churchmen foam in spite  
At you, so careful of the right——  
Come, Maurice, Come."

He had scant respect for the

"Sabbath drawler of old saws,  
Distilled from some worm-canker'd homily."

In his sonnet to J. M. K. he is impatient of

"The humming of the drowsy pulpit drone,  
Half God's good Sabbath, while the worn-out clerk  
Brow-beats his desk below."

But if the perfunctory performance of the beautiful liturgical service of the Church of England excited his indignation, the "wordy storm" of the "heated pulpiteer" in "Sea Dreams" is no less caricatured and chastised.





"Not preaching simple Christ to simple men,  
Announced the coming doom, and fulminated  
Against the Scarlet Woman and her creed;  
For sideways up he swung his arms, and shrieking  
"Thus, thus with violence," e'en as if he held  
The Apocalyptic millstone, and himself  
Were that great Angel; "Thus with violence  
Shall Babylon be cast into the sea."

The oft discussed point as to how far preachers should go in discussing with their congregations the problems of modern Biblical criticism is touched upon in one of Tennyson's unpublished poems. One of his clerical characters

"Was too good and kind and sweet  
Even when I knew him in his hour  
Of darkest doubt, and in his power  
To fling his doubts into the street.

2 Truth seeking he, and not afraid.  
But questions that perplex us now—  
What time (he thought) have loom or plough  
To weigh them as they should be weighed?

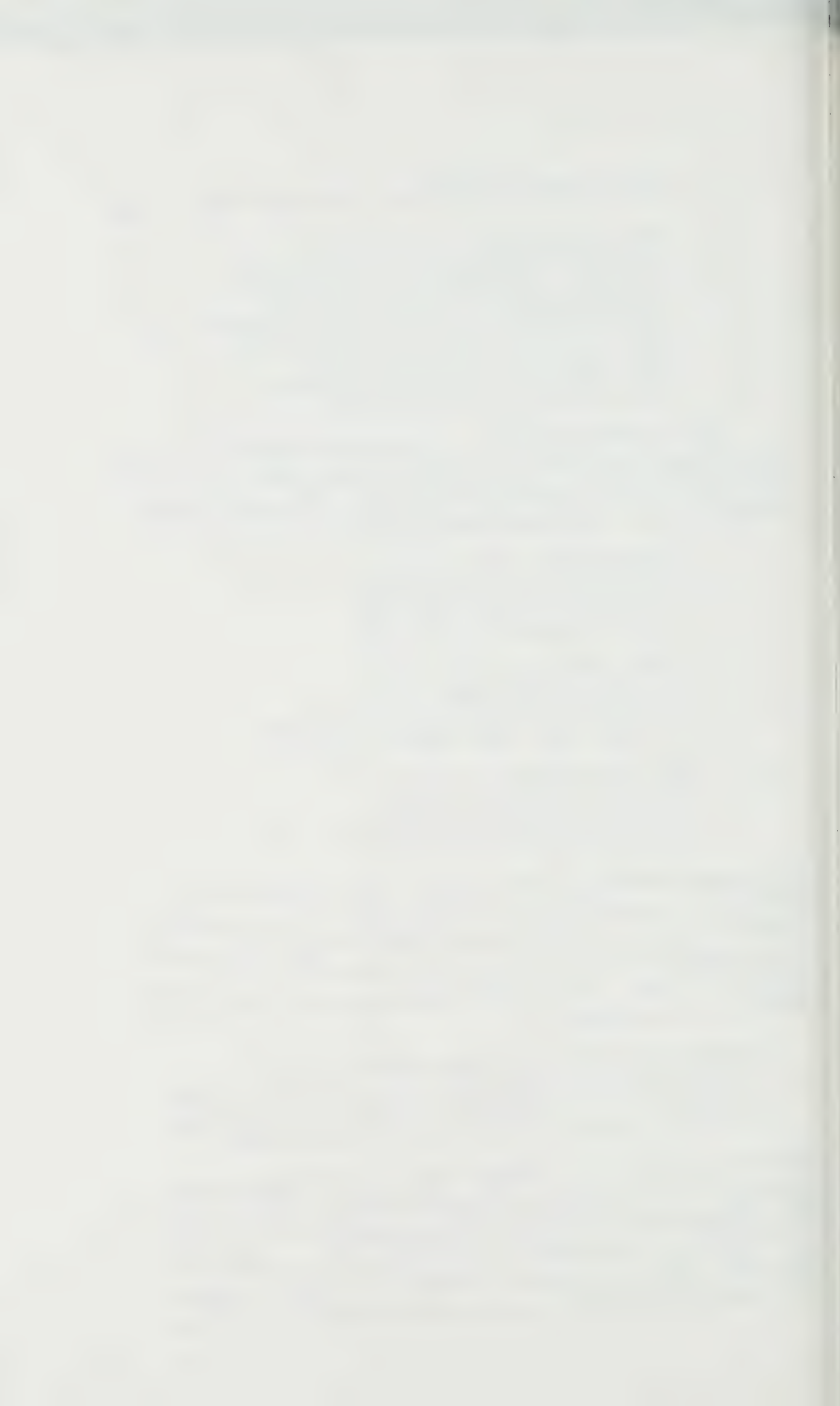
To help the blatant voice abroad  
To preach the freedom of despair,  
And from the heart of all things fair,  
To pluck the sanctions of a God."

Independent thinking in the pew was not so marked a characteristic in Tennyson's time as it is to-day. It was evidently taken for granted by "The Northern Farmer" that his presence in the church and the payment of the tithe were all that was required of him. He was not expected to give himself the trouble of mental effort.

An' I hallus coom'd to Church afoor my Sally was deä  
An' 'eerd un a bummin' awaäy loike a buzzard clock ower my yeä  
An' I niver knaw'd whot a meän'd, but I thowt a 'ad summat to saäy;  
An' I thowt a said whot a owt to a said, an' I coom'd awaäy."

One compares such an attitude with what Ian Maclaren has depicted with such art in his "Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush". Mrs. MacFadyen, for example, the recognised sermon taster of Drumtochty who criticised everything in the technique of the pulpit, from the number of heads in a sermon, to the air with which a probationer used his pocket handkerchief, or that





grand inquisitor, Lachlan Campbell, who was a shepherd by trade but his life business was theology.

The Northern Farmer had however some very decided opinions of the parson as pastor—

"Parson's a bean loikwoise, an' 'e sittin 'ere 'o my bed,  
The A'moighty's a taäkin o' you to 'issen, my friend, 'a said,  
A, 'a tow'd ma my sins, an's toithes were due, an' 'a gied it in hand,  
I done my duty by un, as I 'a done by the land."

But Parson a comes an' a goos, an' 'a says it easy an' freëa  
The A'moighty's a taäkin o' you to 'issen, my friend, says 'eä.  
I weant saäy men be loiars, tho' summun saäd it in haäste,  
But a reads one sarmun a weëak, and I a' stubb'd Thornaby waäste."

Had Tennyson been with us to-day, this colossal war and the great part the British Empire is taking in it would no doubt have evoked the poetic muse. We would have looked for something to match the ode on the death of Wellington, or "The Charge of the Light Brigade".

He had scant respect for

"One who came to the country town  
To preach our poor little army down.  
This broad brimm'd hawker of holy things,  
Whose ear is stuffed with his cotton, and rings  
Even in dreams to the chink of his pence.  
This huckster put down war—Can he tell  
Whether war be a cause or a consequence?"

The poet's advice is to

"Put down the passions that make earth Hell.  
Down with avarice, ambition and pride,  
Jealousy! down! cut off from the mind  
The bitter springs of anger and fear.  
Down too, down at your own fireside  
With the evil tongue and the evil ear  
For each is at war with mankind."

His answer to the criticism of those who accused him of loving war is,

"And who loves war for War's own sake  
Is fool or crazed or worse."

If he has no use for a false pacifism, he has still less for croaking pessimism which found expression in Parson Holmes who was settled down





"Upon the general decay of faith  
Right through the world; at home was little left  
And none abroad: there was no anchor, none,  
To hold by.

From pessimism to despair is but a short step. In one of Tennyson's poems he shows the sad effects of the dark creed of fatalism. A man and his wife having lost faith in God and a hope of a life to come and being utterly miserable in this, resolve to end themselves by drowning. The woman is drowned, but the man is rescued by a minister of the sect he has abandoned. Upbraiding the minister for having rescued him, he says,

"Is it you that preached in the chapel there looking over the sand,  
Followed us two, that night, and dogg'd us, and drew me to land?"

After describing what he felt that night, he says—

"See we were nursed in the dark night fold of your fatalist creed,  
And we turned to the growing dawn, we had hoped for a dawn indeed,  
When the light of a sun that was coming would scatter the ghosts of the  
past,

And the cramping creeds that had madden'd the peoples would vanish  
at last.

And we broke away from the Christ, our human brother and friend  
For he spoke, or it seem'd that he spoke, of a Hell without help, without  
end."

Nay I am not claiming your pity: I know you of old,  
Small pity for them who have ranged from the narrow warmth of your  
fold,

Where you bawl'd the dark side of your faith, and a God of eternal rage,  
Till you flung us back on ourselves, and the human heart, and the age.  
Blasphemy? true! I have scared you pale with my scandalous talk  
But the blasphemy to my mind lies in the way that you walk."

Tennyson had no sympathy with the literal hell-fire theory which was so fervidly preached by many of the Evangelicals of the first half of the past century. His theology was a revolt against this crude teaching. If he could not dogmatise about the future, as some of his clerical characters did, and was but

"An infant in the night,  
An infant crying for the light,  
And with no language but a cry."

yet there was about his message that larger hope which found its basis in all that is best in human nature, and which must therefore be most akin to God.





Let us do justice to the men of a sterner age than ours. If they emphasized the "dark line in God's face", they magnified the love of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Like Muggins in the Northern Cobbler who

"preached o' hell-fire and the loov o' God to men",

these men dwelt on the terror of the Lord that they might persuade men to be reconciled to Him. There is a fine touch of ministerial fidelity in a line in the "May Queen" when the dying child speaking of the good gray-haired clergyman that visited her says,

"He taught me all the mercy, for he show'd me all the sin",

an example which ministers of this present generation might well follow.

I cannot close this paper more appropriately than by recalling to all who contemplate or are already engaged in the work of the ministry, the advice which Tennyson once gave to a young cleric. "Mind you read your Bible and Shakespeare every day. The Bible will tell you what God says to you; Shakespeare will tell you how to say it to your fellows." We may recommend Tennyson's poems for the same reason that he advised reading Shakespeare. Of all the poets of our own time, Tennyson is the acknowledged peer in the fine art of felicitous speech.

T. E. HOLLING.

Westmount.





## THE CONQUEST OF THE AIR BY CHEMISTRY.

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IN 1898 Sir William Crookes, in his address as President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, went into the problem of the world's wheat supply. He pointed out that the highly civilized progressive races are wheat-eaters, and that the wheat requirements of these peoples are increasing rapidly. "England and all civilized nations," he stated, "stand in deadly peril of not having enough to eat. As mouths multiply, food resources dwindle. Land is a limited quantity, and the land that will grow wheat is absolutely dependent on difficult and capricious natural phenomena. I am constrained to show that our wheat-producing soil is totally unequal to the strain put upon it." The United Kingdom required 240 million bushels of wheat annually, with an allowance of two million a year increase for growing population. Of this amount 75 per cent. was imported. "It is certain that in case of war with any of the great Powers, wheat would be contraband, as if it were cannon or powder, liable to capture even under a neutral flag." . . . "We eagerly spend millions to protect our coasts and commerce; and millions more on ships, explosives, guns, and men; but we omit to take necessary precautions to supply ourselves with the very first and supremely important munition of war—food." The number of wheat bread eaters is increasing very fast. In 1871 it was 371,000,000, in 1898 it had grown to 516,500,000, requiring 2,324,000,000 bushels of wheat for seed and food. The total world's supply from the harvest of 1897-8 was only 1,921,000,000 bushels. Up to that date the increased demand for wheat was met by an increase in the acreage of wheat lands. He then discusses the extent to which this way of meeting the demand can be relied upon. His figures for Canada have not worked out very well. "The most trustworthy estimates give Canada a wheat area of not more than six millions of acres in the next twelve years, increasing to a maximum of twelve millions of acres in twenty-five years." This was eighteen years ago when Canada was producing 56,600,000 bushels from 2,900,000 acres, and exporting 8,000,000 bushels. In 1915 we





produced 358 million bushels from 11 million acres, and exported 290 million bushels. This year our production fell off to 159 million bushels. But even this figure is not far short of the maximum which we were to reach seven years from now. And it is a matter of common knowledge that there are very large areas of wheat lands which have not yet been brought under the plough. When Crookes wrote it was not dreamt that wheat could be grown so far north as those parts of Saskatchewan which have been recently opened up. But it is equally well known that the yield per acre is decreasing from the older lands, and that it has been found necessary to adopt some system of rotation of crops or summer fallowing in order to keep up the fertility of the soil for wheat growing. This has the effect of reducing the annual acreage of wheat. Even with the best system of rotation and summer fallowing the yield is bound to decrease from that of the virgin soil. Crookes sums up the situation: "Under present conditions of low acre yield, wheat cannot long retain its dominant position among the food-stuffs of the civilized world. Should all the wheat-growing countries add to their area to the utmost capacity, on the most careful calculation the yield would give us only an addition of some 100,000,000 acres, supplying at the average world-yield of 12.7 bushels to the acre, 1,270,000,000 bushels, just enough to supply the increase of population among bread-eaters till the year 1931." And what after 1931? If we go on increasing in numbers and wheat fails us, we must have recourse to the inferior foods, Indian corn, rice, millet, etc., and we shall thus come to the level of the inferior races which vastly outnumber us. The continued domination of the Caucasian races depends on increasing the supply of wheat as fast as the population grows. When the last acre of wheat land has been brought under the plough, how is this increase to be kept up? Crookes gives us the answer. Lawes and Gilbert grew wheat in one field for thirteen years without manure and got an average yield of 11.9 bushels an acre. For the next thirteen years they dressed with nitrate of soda and got an average yield of 36.4 bushels per acre—more than three times that of the previous period. An increase of 7.3 bushels will be required in 1918. At this rate, it would require about 1½ cwt. of nitrate of soda a year per acre, or a total of 12 million tons a





year. Groves estimated that the South American deposit of this substance, the only one known, would last only about four years, if used at this rate on the 163,000,000 acres growing the world's supply of wheat in 1898. In the meantime, however, the acreage in wheat has been greatly increased.

Chile is still exporting the nitrate of soda. But Crookes shows clearly that the maintenance of the world's wheat supply will in the comparatively near future depend on increasing the yield per acre by the use of nitrogenous fertilizers. The other constituents of a general fertilizer, viz., potash and phosphoric acid, can be supplied from mineral sources which are very large and likely to be increased by new mineral discoveries. The nitrate of soda is not a mineral deposit in the strict sense of the term. It owes its origin to a process which is constantly going on in any soil where vegetable and animal matter is decaying under the influence of certain bacteria—the nitrifying bacteria. For ages the old soils of India have in this way yielded a crop of a similar substance, nitrate of potash, or common saltpetre. It requires unusual climatic and other conditions to bring about such an accumulation as we have in Chile—the result of millions of years of the action of countless bacteria. Other sources of nitrogen compounds are the ordinary manures, the waste of all plant and animal life; ammonia, etc., from coal in the process of gas and coke manufacture; and the very slow conversion of the nitrogen of the atmosphere into compounds suitable for plant food. This latter process goes on under the influence of lightning flashes, but the amount thus formed is very small, about 11 lbs. per acre annually. It is however particularly interesting in being identical with one of the ways devised by chemists for the solution of our problem.

This problem is, in short, to convert the nitrogen of the atmosphere into compounds suitable for plant food. There is enough of it—a quantity practically inexhaustible—about 7 tons for every square yard of the earth's surface, or 4,000 billion tons in all. We need not fear drawing on it freely for all our requirements, for in any case it is constantly being returned, by the burning of the wood, peat, and coal which it helps to form, and by the waste and disintegration of all living forms into which it enters. With our best efforts we shall





only, as it were, speed up a little this circulation of nitrogen from sky to earth and back again. It must be understood that plants have only an extremely limited power of drawing directly upon this free nitrogen of the atmosphere. Leguminous plants have an ingenious mechanism for the purpose, nodules on their roots, the homes of bacteria, which we may suppose eat nitrogen and convert it into compounds. This explains the good effect of a ploughed-under crop of clover, a very old device for preparing land for a wheat crop, dating back to the time of the Romans. There is also evidence that certain bacteria which swarm in some semi-arid soils have the power of promoting the combination of atmospheric nitrogen with oxygen. Some soils, in the Western States, have thus become so charged with nitrates that they are unfit for growing crops. But all such processes, even if spread by inoculation of soils, are too slow to do more than stave off the day of starvation which we see approaching.

In his address in 1898 Sir William Crookes pointed out one way in which the chemist might solve the problem. More than a century before that, Priestley had shown (1784) that the oxygen and nitrogen of the air combine under the influence of electric sparks, and Cavendish (1785) succeeded in converting all the nitrogen of a small quantity of air into saltpetre, by passing electric sparks through it, supplying oxygen as that element was used up, and allowing the resulting oxides of nitrogen to become absorbed by a solution of potash. In 1892 Crookes showed the savants of the Royal Society what he called "The Flame of Burning Nitrogen," which was the spectacle of nitrogen and oxygen combining under the influence of a large electric arc. In the address already quoted, he pointed out that nitrate of soda could probably be made in this way for £5 a ton, while the natural salt was selling at that time for £7 10s. He then prophesies:—

"The future can take care of itself. The artificial production of nitrate is clearly within view, and by its aid the land devoted to wheat can be brought up to the 30 bushels per acre standard. In days to come, when the demand may again overtake supply, we may safely leave our successors to grapple with the stupendous food problem."





Let us see now how far the chemist has got in fulfilling this prophecy. It should be remembered that the problem is to get the free nitrogen of the atmosphere into combination. Any of a large number of nitrogen compounds will answer the purpose—nitrate, ammonia, nitrides, and other compounds can either be directly assimilated by plants or are easily convertible into the proper compounds. Priestley's and Cavendish's discovery is, however, the most direct method, and it has furnished the first solution. The history of the artificial nitrate process is characteristic. The initial scientific discovery was made in England, and was even elaborated and used a century later (by Lord Rayleigh and Sir William Ramsay) for further discoveries in pure science. Lord Rayleigh's experiment and apparatus undoubtedly pointed the way to industrial application, but it was left to other countries to apply this important discovery successfully to industries. McDougall and Howell of Manchester first made nitrate from air on a large scale. The Atmospheric Products Co. of Niagara Falls began to make nitric acid in 1902, but, after running two years, failed to make the process a commercial success.

It was in Norway, with its fine waterpowers for generating cheap electricity, that (in 1905) nitric acid was first profitably made from air. This result was due to Birkeland and Eyde, whose process was soon adopted extensively in other countries. The success of the process depends on heating the air to the high temperature of the electric arc, about  $3000^{\circ}\text{C}.$ , and then cooling it as quickly as possible. It is interesting to note that a Queen's graduate, G. W. Morden, made an important improvement in the apparatus, using short electric arcs with water-cooled anodes. Birkeland and Eyde's improvement was to generate the electric arc in a strong magnetic field. This caused it to spread out as a large disc, which increased the active area very much. In 1912 the factory at Notodden, Norway, was treating about 700,000 litres of air a minute, giving about 45 lbs. of nitric acid, which, converted into nitrate of lime, amounts to about 20,000 tons of that substance per annum. In 1905, the first apparatus was installed to use 160 H.P. In 1915 the business had expanded to the extent of using 250,000 H.P. in Norway alone. The acid is converted into nitrate of lime for fertilizer, into ammonium nitrate for the





manufacture of explosives, and into several other compounds for the chemical industries. For several years English manufacturers of explosives sent ammonia solution to Norway to be returned as ammonium nitrate. But this situation has been apparently redeemed by E. K. Scott, whose improvements if proved successful may bring much of this important chemical industry to England. He uses the waste heat of the arc to generate steam, which thus provides part of the power for producing the arc. Another gain is in using instead of air a mixture of oxygen and nitrogen in equal parts by volume, easily made by a liquid air machine. Scott's third improvement is in using an arc at  $4200^{\circ}$  instead of the usual practice of  $3200^{\circ}$ .

By this process the first product, formed in the electric arc, is an oxide of nitrogen which on mixing with more oxygen and water combines with them to form nitric acid. Thus the only raw materials required are air and water, practically inexhaustible.

But we are not dependent on the direct oxidation of atmospheric nitrogen. In 1892 a Canadian, T. L. Willson, made possible the commercial manufacture of calcium carbide, which up to that time had been a rather expensive chemical curiosity. In 1895-7 Frank and Caro elaborated a process for combining this with nitrogen to form a substance, calcium cyanamide, which yields ammonia when acted on by water. Now ammonia is almost as good as nitrate for fertilizing purposes, and when nitrate is required it can be made by the oxidation of ammonia. In 1912 the manufacture of this new fertilizer, called commercially *nitrolime*, had increased to 165,000 tons a year, in Norway, Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Switzerland, the United States, Central Provinces of India, and Japan, but none in Great Britain. But the largest factory has been built by British capital in Norway at Odda near the beautiful Hardanger Fjord, where a very large waterpower is available. At that time 20,000 H.P. was in use and 80,000 H.P. ready. The nitrogen is extracted from the air by liquefying the air with a Linde machine, from which the nitrogen, boiling at a lower temperature than oxygen, can be delivered fairly pure. If nitrolime is used to make ammonia to be oxidized to nitric acid, an analysis of the whole process shows that the elements of this





nitric acid come from air and water, just as in the case of the first process described. The Linde machine can be so designed as to deliver nitrogen and oxygen separately, both fairly pure, and it is thus possible to provide at one operation the nitrogen for the manufacture of nitrolime, and the oxygen to convert the ammonia into nitric acid. However, the nitrolime is usually applied directly to the soil, where it is slowly acted on by the water and thus supplies ammonia to the plants. It is believed that it is in part directly assimilated. The physiologist will be interested in noting that when nitrolime slowly decomposes in the soil it forms urea and later ammonium carbonate. In 1914, in a review of the state of the cyanamid (nitrolime) industry in the United States, the statement is made that the cost of food products has increased twice as fast as the general cost of living, and it was pointed out that in that country cyanamide is the cheapest form of nitrogen fertilizer. The electric arc process for nitric acid and nitrate can not, it is contended, compete with it, owing to the high cost of electricity.

But chemists have found a third way of "fixing" the nitrogen of the atmosphere so as to make it ready for plant food. In 1881 an English chemist named Johnson stated that nitrogen and hydrogen combined slightly when in the presence of hot spongy platinum, a small proportion of ammonia being formed. This was disputed at the time by two other English chemists, who promptly proved Johnson to have made a mistake. But time has shown that he had made no mistake, and the elaboration of a commercial process for making ammonia by the direct combination of hydrogen and nitrogen is a brilliant triumph, due to the German chemist Haber. The thing looked hopeless at first sight. The combination ceased as soon as about one-tenth of one per cent. of the gases had combined. But Haber, working at very high pressure, and using crude uranium instead of platinum to assist combination, succeeded in bringing the yield up to over 10%, which made the process a practicable one. The hydrogen is made by the decomposition of water, so that the sources of the raw materials are as before, water and air. The economical oxidation of ammonia to nitric acid seems to have been lately worked out by Ostwald in Germany, and it is claimed that in that country the three processes





for making nitrogen compounds out of atmospheric nitrogen are all at work, making Germany independent of the South American nitrate beds.

So far, the subject has been discussed from the point of view of nitrogen fertilizers; but this by no means covers the ground. Large quantities of nitric acid, nitrates, and ammonia are used in the manufacture of explosives, for use in war and in the peaceful occupations of mining, railway building, etc. Another class of nitrogen compounds, the cyanides, are required for the extraction of gold and silver from their ores. Large quantities of ammonia are used in refrigerating plants, the use of which is extending very fast. Outside of these larger requirements the chemical industries absorb very considerable quantities of nitrogen compounds.

The whole subject is just now under review in the United States. The editor of *The Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* estimates the U.S. supply of nitrogen compounds for 1916 as follows:

	<i>Tons of N.</i>
Sulphate of ammonia (produced from coal) . . . . .	53,600
Sulphate of ammonia, imported . . . . .	4,500
Nitrate of soda, imported . . . . .	187,200
Cyanamid, imported . . . . .	11,500
	<hr/> 256,800

These materials are for the following purposes:

	<i>Tons of N.</i>
Sulphate of ammonia, for chemical industries . . . . .	21,700
Sulphate of ammonia, for refrigerating . . . . .	12,600
Sulphate of ammonia, for agriculture . . . . .	23,800
Nitrate of soda, for chemical industries . . . . .	155,600
Nitrate of soda, for agriculture . . . . .	31,600
Cyanamid for agriculture, etc. . . . .	11,500
	<hr/> 256,800

It is to be noted that the industries other than agricultural absorb about three-quarters of the total, and that only about one-fifth of the whole of this combined nitrogen is home production. Lawrence Addicks, commenting on this state of





affairs, writes in the November number of the same journal: "It has been long evident, and for a little while generally appreciated, that were we to have a war with a first class power about half of our navy would be engaged in protecting our line of communication with Chile, instead of protecting our coasts; and, as nitric acid is indispensable in the manufacture of explosives, this has given the government a special interest in the development of a process requiring no imported supplies." This statement would apply to any country with a large seaboard, and no factories for the production of nitrogen compounds from air. The U. S. Government has lately voted \$10,000,000 to establish a national nitric acid works. The chairman of the committee appointed to carry out the project has written to a member of our Chemistry staff (Major L. F. Goodwin) asking his advice.

The success of the artificial nitrate and the cyanamid industries depends on cheap waterpower to generate the electric current required. Haber's ammonia process is independent of this, but for the manufacture of nitric acid at least it could hardly compete with the other two under normal commercial conditions. I suppose that there are few countries in the world where waterpower is available in such large quantities as in Canada. And as the atmosphere is common property, there is no reason why Canada should not become one of the largest, if not the largest, producer of these important substances. She has already taken the lead in the manufacture of carbide, the starting point for the manufacture of cyanamid. Considering the vast national importance of these nitrogen compounds in peace and war, it would seem as if they should be the first to engage the attention of the lately appointed committee on Industrial Research.

At present the demand for nitric acid for the manufacture of explosives is enormous, and it is a difficult economic problem to provide for war conditions. If private capital is invested in the necessary plant it will be idle in times of peace, as the war requirements are far in excess of any probable demand in times of peace. It is this consideration which has prompted the U. S. government to make the manufacture of nitric acid from air a government enterprise. It may be that this will lead to a more general use of such materials in in-





tensive farming. A government works could continue to manufacture in peace times and so keep the price of nitrate down. This would encourage farmers to use it. But, of course, such a condition could not be permanent. Ultimately the government works would have to be in the same position as any other preparation for war. It would have to remain idle in times of peace.

A writer in a recent number of *The Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry* states that it is feared in Germany that at the end of the war foreign competition in all those industries which depend on these substances will be overpowering. The Chilian nitrate deposits are in the hands of an English-French syndicate. The Northwestern Cyanamid Co. controls 1,000,000 H.P. of waterpower in Scandinavia. English interests have secured control of great waterpowers in the United States and Canada. All this at least emphasizes the importance of taking such measures in this country as shall secure for Canada the control of this very important industry. In too many cases we have allowed vast Canadian resources such as our nickel deposits and our pulpwood forests to pass largely into foreign hands. This should be prevented by a combination of wise legislation, public spirit, and scientific enterprise.

W. L. GOODWIN.



## STATE DIRECTED EMIGRATION TO THE OVERSEAS DOMINIONS—A POLICY FOR THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AFTER THE WAR.

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LOOKING back over the past, especially in the light of the present war, we can see that many mistakes were made in our methods of attracting immigrants into Canada, and in the character of the people we have allowed to come. Our anxiety to increase the population by additions from abroad, has not been accompanied by that careful selection which meant a more substantial development of the country. It was most important to encourage the educated Anglo-Saxon to come to our shores, as being imperial in his ideas, as making the best type of law abiding citizen, and as being progressive in the work he undertakes. And yet, in the past decade or more, we have welcomed the arrival from Austria, the Balkan States, Southern Russia, and Southern Italy, of hundreds of thousands of foreigners who are largely uneducated, have moral and social standards somewhat different from ours, and have raised among us racial religious and educational problems. They have found places as navvies in railway, canal and other construction, and, since the war began, in munition and other factories, whilst some have taken, indifferently, to farm life, but with large numbers of them who are still here, it is a question whether they can be regarded as permanent residents of Canada, and how far they will contribute, in even a moderate degree, to the national life and progress.

About thirty years ago, Lord Brabazon and a very distinguished group of peers, members of Parliament, bankers, and others in England formed an association for the promotion of state aided emigration from Great Britain to the Colonies. The more immediate object brought by the association before the Government, was to afford relief to the unemployed, at that time a serious problem, but, apart from this, there was a wish to direct, in an organized way, the annual outflow of the popu-





lation to the Colonies of the Empire. The general drift of emigration, then and previously, was chiefly to the United States. If Lord Granville and the other ministers of the Crown at the time, had understood and appreciated the importance of the Colonies, and taken a broad view of the needs of the Empire, both from a trade and a political point of view, it is quite conceivable that Canada, Australia and New Zealand would now have been able to very greatly enlarge their present contributions in men and material for the allies in the war. Instead of aiding in building up great Anglo-Saxon communities under the Southern Cross and in the North American possessions, this British emigration was allowed, unchecked, to drift, year by year, largely to the United States, there to increase the population, develop the resources, and expand the wealth and international importance of that republic.

As in the past, there always will be a considerable annual exodus from the British Isles of those men and women who desire, in a new country, to expand their energies and broaden their opportunities for advancement, and to these will be added, after the war, the large numbers of the British soldiers, who, with their experiences of the free open air life at the front, their association with the troops from the overseas Dominions, and the taste they have been given of the roving spirit, will desire to go abroad to these Dominions, the United States or elsewhere. Even among the army of women munition workers in Great Britain, so many of whom will eventually be displaced by the returning soldiers, there will be considerable numbers who, after their experiences as wage earners, will seek, through emigration, a future, especially in those congenial countries where the preponderance of women in numbers is less marked than in the homeland. The splendid work in their country's service shown by so many of these men and women deserves recognition, and when the war has so forcibly illustrated to the mother country the absolute need of having strong and prosperous copartners imperially associated with it, why should not the British Government take a friendly interest in these emigrants, and co-operate with the overseas Dominions in affording them transportation facilities and a definite outlook which would induce them to remain within the bounds of the Empire, and to aid in its future development? Within the circle of this Empire, the emigrant would find every known





climate, probably all known materials, social conditions that are very satisfactory, bright prospects for advancement among people of his own race, and a general freedom of action which is the heritage of every Briton.

Some months ago, I brought the subject of state directed emigration before the Right Honorable Bonar Law, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, as well as before our own Government, and the Governments of Australia and New Zealand, because the solution of the problem requires co-operation. It is satisfactory now to know that Mr. Bonar Law considers that the British Government would be much to blame if it did not make certain of two facts—that whatever emigration takes place from Great Britain after the war shall be to points within the Empire, and should not lessen the strength of it as a whole; and that this emigration will take place under the best conditions for the men who have fought in the war. The Duke of Connaught, also, in his address before the Canadian Club in Ottawa, in October last, pointed out that perhaps the most important question Canada had to face after the war, would be the class of immigrants it was to have, and he insisted on the wisdom of having immigrants of British stock. Our Minister of Finance, likewise, recently told an audience in England that Canada had, in the past, been too cosmopolitan in its treatment of the immigration problem. The Canadian Government itself, whilst giving a very sympathetic hearing to the proposal for state directed emigration from Great Britain, has referred the whole subject of immigration to the Economic and Development Commission, and the proposal has now been discussed with it. Australia and New Zealand have yet to be heard from, but conditions there as to land, labour, transportation expenses, and general opportunity for the immigrant are somewhat different from those in Canada.

The inducements offered and the methods employed in the past by governments and railways in this and the other Dominions, are quite familiar, but it is now clear that in Canada the changed conditions, brought about by experience and by the war, have made a different programme necessary. The idea, largely prevalent thus far, that whoever is willing to come should be welcomed, must be dropped. The nationality, the mental calibre, and the moral and social conditions which





have hitherto surrounded the immigrants, must be considered. The feeble minded, the illiterate, the criminal class, and any who are likely to become a charge on the charity of the community, are not wanted. Men of British stock will be preferred in all of the Dominions, and it is in this respect that the British Government, by directing the trend of emigration from its shores, can render invaluable aid to these Dominions, and at the same time serve its own imperial interests. It must leave the emigrant to form his own final choice of destination, but can afford him every opportunity of studying the attractions presented by each Dominion, and the inducements offered in permanent employment in the towns, settlement on the land, financial assistance, or otherwise. In the case of the discharged soldier, it is suggested that as some small return for the magnificent part he has taken in the war, the Imperial Government should aid in his transportation to his ultimate destination in the Dominion under whose auspices he intended thereafter to remain. Conferences are thus needed between the Imperial and the Overseas Governments, in order to arrange beforehand for co-operative action whenever peace is announced. In the meantime, the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand soldiers in the concentration camps in England, in the army at the battle front, and in the convalescent and other hospitals throughout Britain, are performing valuable emigration service by affording information and personal experiences of colonial life, to their associates in khaki from the homeland, whilst the British press, in its admiration of the physique, the courage, and the endurance of these overseas soldiers at the firing line, has shown to the British public what the climate, the free life, and other new world experiences can produce in these distant possessions, apart from material prosperity.

Each Dominion has its special climatic, agricultural, mineral, and other attractions, and has its own views as to what it can wisely do, without being too paternal, in helping to start in a fresh life those who desire to settle permanently within its bounds and become progressive citizens. There are thus problems to be met in each of these Dominions as well as in Great Britain, but that spirit of optimism in confronting problems, and of mutual helpfulness where Imperial interests are concerned, which now pervades every section of the Empire, will, we can confidently believe, result in a new general policy,





under which, whatever Great Britain may apparently lose through emigration, will be recouped to it not merely in the increased population and strength of its distant possessions, and in its trade with them, but also in the cementing, even more firmly there, of the bond of attachment to the homeland which in these times of stress has proved so valuable.

ANDREW T. DRUMMOND.

Toronto.





## THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS AND THE WAR.

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### *First Part: The Past.*

THE attitude and opinions of the small neutral nations during this war are well worth studying for the light they cast on the influences that have been moulding the European mind during the last thirty or forty years. This is particularly true in the case of the three Scandinavian nations, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. They are, all three, important centres of culture, quite on a level with the most progressive States of the world in their general development. They are besides in very close contact with German thought and are kept very well informed as to the international situation by their publicists who, whether they are conservative or radical in tendency, all recognize that it is a question of life and death for them to know the real situation and estimate it rightly; the great democracies on both sides of the Atlantic have been in comparison quite careless and anything but well informed till very recently. It is true there is often a certain reserve in the expression of Scandinavian opinion. Readers of their periodical literature can hardly fail to notice the very cautious, half apologetic tone in most of their writers when they venture upon any criticism of Germany's doings. There is no such hesitation or timidity in their way of referring to spots on the history of Russia, or Britain, or France, but they are obviously afraid of the terrible vindictiveness of the German towards the small peoples that cross his path. Menaces from the German papers seem to mean something different to them, from the momentary ebullitions of the French or British press. During the early period of the war, a distinguished Norwegian publicist, Chr. Collin, felt himself compelled to remonstrate mildly—oh, so very mildly—against the violent threats the German press was addressing to Norway on account of Norwegian sympathy with Belgium's plight. "Let those," he writes in the *Samtiden*, who threaten us with punishment, if we venture to show the smallest sympathy with any others than Germany, remember that during the Boer war, when the Englishmen had to exert themselves to the uttermost, our



sympathy with the Boers was general. . . . Björnnotjerne Björnson expressed his sympathy openly and publicly, but I did not see that the British press banned him on that account or threatened the whole Norwegian people with punishment . . . and when Björnson died I saw nothing else but high esteem for him expressed by the great British newspapers, *The Times* at their head."

Collin's voice is not that of a partisan, the tone of his articles on the war in general is impartial and detached. He speaks of opinion in Norway—at that time—as "much divided," and also as if its character depended more on the political ideals and tendencies of the individual than on any opinion about the rights or wrongs of the conflict. That is very significant and it agrees with the impression one gets from reading Scandinavian publications, especially at the beginning of the war. But as Norway is predominantly democratic in sentiment there is little doubt that the general sympathy of the people is with the Entente Allies. But the military condition of Norway is weak both on land and sea. Till within recent years an optimistic pacificism, the pious confidence of a people who were conscious of having no warlike designs themselves, made Norway neglect national defence. For long it has been a sure means for politicians and journalists seeking favour with a Radical ministry to make light of the need of defensive preparation and to preach the sufficiency of immovable neutrality as a safeguard. Björnnotjerne Björnson gave the weight of his great name to this policy and contributed not a little as Hjalmar Christensen remarks in a recent article to confuse the ideas of weaker heads on this subject. The increasing tension of the constitutional conflict with Sweden over the union and the final break in 1905 had the effect of awakening the Norse people to the need of natural defence, especially as the growth of German naval power and the opening of the Kiel Canal had still further shaken Norway's sense of security. But there is still a socialistic party that advocates complete disarmament for Norway and the abandonment of any attempt to defend even the country's neutrality against a Great Power by force of arms. Norway is to trust to *Kulturvaernet*, the defence which high culture may give. Edvard Bull, for example, points to the fate of Belgium as a warning and sees





nothing but "a mistaken policy" in Belgium's heroic attempt to defend its independence and integrity as a State.\* Hr. Bull indeed seems almost more angry with Belgium for defending its neutrality than with Germany for violating it, perhaps because Belgium's fate has been such a painful demonstration of the little reliance there is to be placed on neutrality and *Kulturvaernet* as a safeguard. A well organized army of 300,000 men would certainly have been more effective. No nation, however powerful, would wish to bring that into the scale against itself. In any case Hr. Bull's policy would mean that the world had a new and rather embarrassing class of States on its hands, States which did not undertake to defend their integrity and citizenship.

The attitude of the Dane, though he has assuredly not forgotten Prussia's raid on his country in 1864, is in general still more diplomatic and cautious than that of the Norwegian. There is no doubt about it, he is genuinely afraid of the big neighbour that has twice swooped down on him and finally rent South Jutland and its Danes from his little land. But when a Danish writer does take up the pen against Germany, his intimate knowledge of Germans and German ways, and a deep feeling too that Germany is just repeating on a great scale the tactics that overwhelmed Denmark and also obfuscated her cause before the world, make him a formidable critic. There is no more biting exposure of German duplicity, nor any written in deeper tones, than the *Klokke Roland* of the Dane, Johannes Jørgensen or Chr. Nyrops *Er Krig Kultur*.

#### *Sweden's Great Period.*

Sweden's position is very different from that of Norway or Denmark, not only or mainly because of her superior resources and military organization, but still more because of her historic traditions and her political relations both past and present to Russia. Without some knowledge of Swedish history for the last two centuries, it is impossible to appreciate Swedish sentiment on this war. For good or ill, Sweden has the heritage of a great past, in a period, not yet very remote,

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\**en feilagtig politik*, says Bull. See his articles in *Samtiden* for 1914 and 1916.





when she was one of the Great Powers of Europe. At the death of Charles XI in 1697 Sweden possessed all Finland and most of the East Sea provinces, besides Pomerania and some territories of the old German Empire, almost turning the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia into a Swedish lake. In Finland, which had been Swedish since the thirteenth century, the Swedish language and culture had taken deep root amongst the population; and though there is now a specifically Finnish literature, the best known writers of Finland, Runeberg and Topelius, are still Swedish classics. There had been centuries of warfare over the Baltic provinces between Poles, Danes, Germans, Russians and Swedes, but it seemed to have ended in the definite establishment of Sweden as the Great Power of the North. Her soldiers were amongst the best trained of Europe and had the inspiring traditions of Gustavus Adolphus and the famous campaigns of the Thirty Years War behind them. Her navy was equal to the best of that time.

Then came the tragedy of Swedish history with that heroic madman Charles XII, who after nine years of wasting warfare lost the empire of the north for Sweden at Pultawa. Yet his early campaigns in this war are counted amongst the most glorious pages in their history by the Swedes. Turning on the treacherous combination which had been formed against him the young king, he was only 18 years old, forced Frederick of Denmark into an ignominious peace, beat Peter the Great soundly at the battle of Narva, and then turned into Saxony and Poland to punish Augustus the Strong; and there he stayed till he had uncrowned him, refusing all other terms however advantageous; six years of victorious but wasting warfare during which the sagacious Peter was collecting and training his Russians, overrunning the Baltic provinces of Sweden and founding the new capital of St. Petersburg on their borders (1703) as a sign that he meant to stay there. Charles had said he would drive Augustus from the throne of Poland if he should have to stay there thirty years to do it; and he had that half fantastic heroism of the old Vikings in him which would never go back on a boast however rashly uttered. When at last he turned his attention to the really dangerous enemy, it was almost too late and in trying to make up for lost time by the heroic strategy of a march on Moscow, he found himself





at Pultawa with much thinned battalions in one of those desperate situations where he had to fight and win a victory or lose not only a whole army, but a whole campaign, and with it the over-sea empire the Vasas had built up for Sweden. When peace was made in 1721 Russia got a large part of Finland and all the Baltic provinces and took Sweden's place as the great power of the north. The memory of that tragedy has mostly grown faint for us now, though it has been preserved in literature that is still classic like Voltaire's *Charles XII* and Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*; to us at any rate it is more the personal tragedy of Charles, but to the Swedes it is still a burning memory of the fall of an empire, the end of what they call their "great period"—*stormaktstid*. It is quite recently, in the nineties, that Von Heidenstam's brilliant work, *Karolinnerna*, (the Carolinians or men of Charles' time) has given a thrillingly imaginative expression to the national feeling on this disaster. The ordinary Swedish historian generally consoles himself and his countrymen with the philosophic reflection that the Swedish empire was too extended for the resources of a small State, but there is no mistaking the bitterness of scorn and regret which lives in those pages of Heidenstam. And it is all turned on Charles. Swedish soldiery, Swedish generals and statesmen, Swedish people, they were all ready to face any sacrifice for their country's cause and did so with wonderful fortitude—never was a leader more devotedly followed; but he with his mad adventurer's romanticism wasted it all in maintaining fancied points of honour in never altering the royal will once it was expressed, in never turning back on the road he had once taken, and in striving heroically to achieve the impossible. And yet this man was of fundamentally heroic temper and character, who never spared himself any more than others, and who put all minor passions and indulgences below his feet from the day he set out at the head of his armies till his death before the fortress of Fredericksten. He was Sweden's last great war-lord and hero and, in spite of all, the Swedish people felt for the first time that when he was lost all was lost. It needs all that new art of Heidenstam's with its strong alloy of fantasy, yet penetrating with curious impressiveness to the magic of life and personality, to give us a picture of that man and his time. It is the





romanticism of our time, a stern kind of romanticism with a bitter element of realism in it.

But the tragedy of Sweden really dragged itself out for a whole century afterwards with a kind of interlude in the Gustavian period when Swedish learning and literature had a flowering period with Linnaeus and the unique muse of Carl Michael Bellman. But the vigour and organizing power of Sweden had somehow received a death-wound. She failed to find the right path for the new time, and internal strife, treachery and a sullen apathy on the part of the nobles lamed the energy of a nation that had once been famous for its statesmen and warriors. The end came in 1809 when all that was left of Finland was lost to Russia under circumstances which were worse than grievous. The surrender of the fortress of Sveaborg is the most notable of the treacheries of that time, but it is only one of many.

*Runeberg and the last struggle of the Finns.*

The small Finnish army however fought some hard battles against the invader for the old blue and yellow flag with the Finnish bear on it, and even won some victories. The memory of that struggle will never be forgotten by Swede or Finn, for it has been made immortal in the poetry of the great poet of Finland, Runeberg. *Fänrik Staal's Stories* is a collection of stories of that war supposed to be told by a Finnish veteran, a typical figure from the wars of those days, a hardy, modest old soldier, so poor that he must eat the bread of charity but with the dignity of one who has played his part out in great things. But except in the first poem, which comes after the famous song, "*Vaart land, vaart land,*" we hear little of the old ensign, the rest being really independent poems describing notable, sometimes historic episodes and personal heroisms in the war, the story of Sven Dufva, the slow-witted but strong and true-hearted, who held the bridge till Sandels and his cavalry came up. The epitaph spoken over his dead body by the general was a tradition in the Finnish army: "Not much of a head had Dufva, but his heart was of the best." That kind of trait is very characteristic of Runeberg; he is a master in that style. Or it is old Hurtig, a veteran of the better Gustavian days, who gets tired of this continual stra-





tegic retreating which so fatally distinguished the Swedish high command, and standing fast dies on the field of Oravais. Or it is Döbeln, a name dear to the Finns, rising from a sick bed to lead the fight at Juutas, or Adlercreutz, "bravest amongst the brave," at Siikajoki. One of the best poems, *Molnets Broder*, is that which tells how father and daughter found the youth, his foster-son and her lover, dead on the battle-field and hear how bravely he fell. It has some fine lines in Runeberg's simple style of pathos. "Now the roof-tree of my dwelling is broken," cries the old man; but the daughter's mood is higher:

To love was more to me than living,  
And more than loving is it thus his dying.

But that rough translation will not carry home to any one the sweet simplicity of Runeberg's unrhymed trochaics.

Runeberg's poem is an unforgettable record of a small people's heroic struggle against fate, for the stars in their courses seemed to fight against Sweden then. Everywhere mistrust, apathy, corruption, and treacheries which even to-day, it seems, have not been fully explained. Runeberg just touches on this side, but the blackest spot of all, the surrender of Sveaborg, the Gibraltar of the north, has a whole poem to itself and a bitter one. "Never to be forgotten in any tide of times," sings the poet, "that day when the news came like a terrible thunderbolt that Sveaborg was Swedish no more" . . . "The fatherland died then." . . . "Hide *his* name in night, like me (Runeberg does not mention the traitor's name), keep silence as to his family and race. He that betrays his country, he has neither family, nor race, nor son, nor father more." His name, if I may defy Runeberg's ban, was K. O. Cronstedt; he came of a noble Swedish family and as commander of a squadron had helped to win the great naval battle of Svenskund for Sweden. But the time was confused and corrupt, all things tending to a catastrophe. Even the struggle of the Finlanders ended a little ambiguously. Partly in indignation at Sweden's inability to defend them against Russia, they came to terms with the latter power on their own account. The terms they got were very good—independent or semi-independent duchy of Finland under the Czar as Grand Duke—and there is a Fin-



nish or Fennomannish party which chooses to date Finland's freedom and independence from its connection with Russia. But the measures of Russification which began in the nineties may have altered their view of history a little. One must know such situations very well and very closely to judge them, and not listen merely to the loud talkers.\*

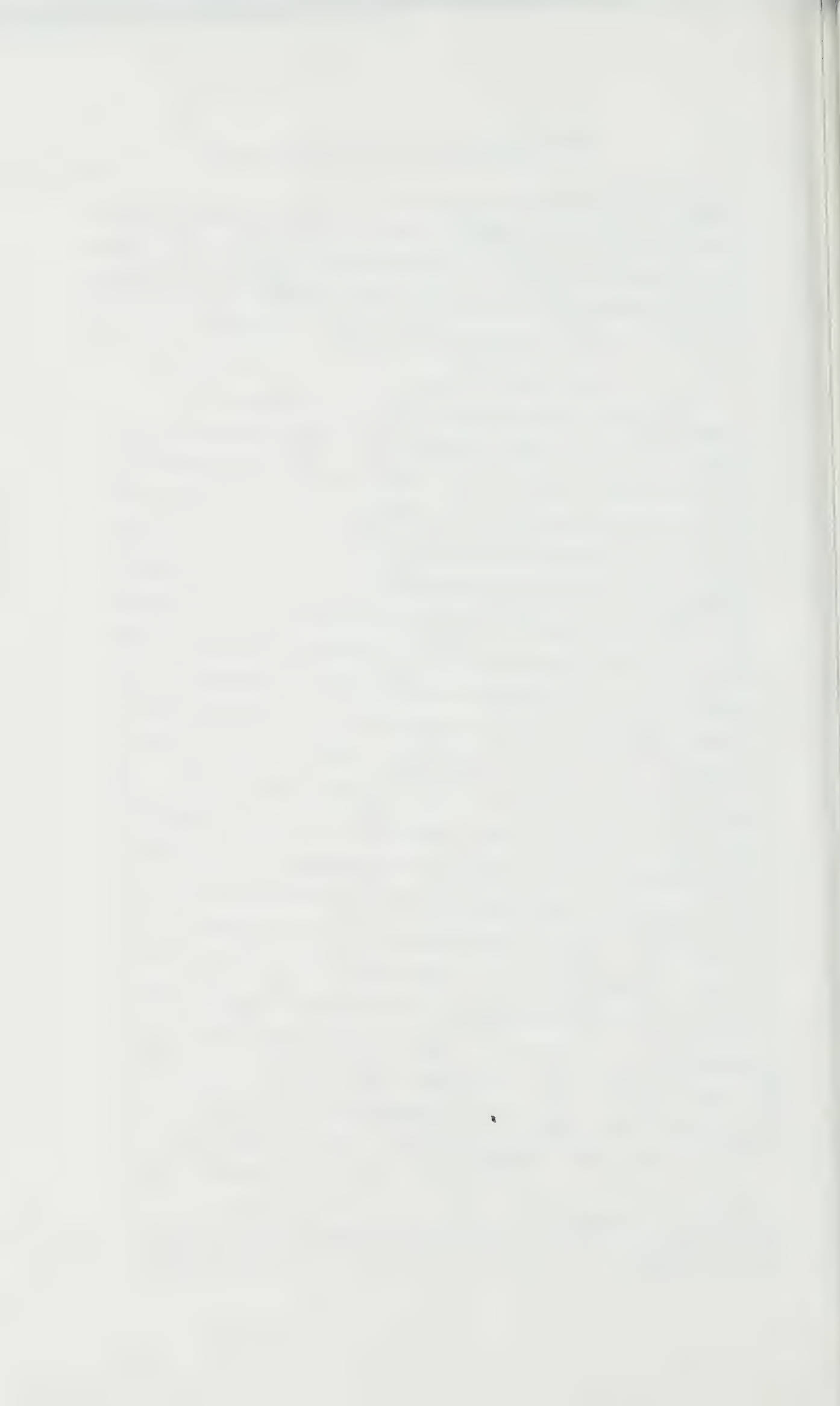
*The Union of Sweden and Norway.*

The loss of Finland was a deep wound to Sweden's pride. "Weep, Svea, for what thou hast lost," sang her greatest poet, Tegner, and Geijer spoke of "the shining height from which we have fallen but shall yet regain." For at this very time there was a new spring of hope for Sweden in the fact that the Allies in recompense for the assistance of the Swedish army in the last campaign against Napoleon had decreed that Norway, hitherto subject to Denmark, should be transferred to Sweden. This was an accession of strength to Sweden which seemed at first as if it would more than compensate for the loss of overseas territory. The exchange was a gain to Norway also, transferring it from subjection to an absolute monarchy to a constitutional position in the new union. But the Norsemen were not content to be disposed of in this manner, a national assembly met at Eidsvold, drew up a free and very democratic constitution for the country and elected a Danish prince as their king. Sweden indignant at the prospect of losing on all sides, marched an army on Norway. Both sides felt, however, that it was an unfortunate strife and a compromise was made by which Norway entered into the union under the Swedish crown but with her own constitution. For a time there was high expectation in all the Scandinavian countries over this event, their poets celebrating in moving verse this "union of the North," of powers, as the Danish poet, Carl Ploug, sang twenty years later, "that could have ruled the world" had they been united. The ideal of Scandinavian unity began to take form. Karl Johan (Bernadotte) and the Swedes had their hopes also, never doubting but that with time the union

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\*Articles and booklets on the Finnish question have been numerous of course since the outbreak of the war, most of the latter obviously of German inspiration.





would become closer. But never did a more uneasy couple go in leash than Norway and Sweden. There was trouble from the beginning. The Norwegians were then a primitive people of farmers, sailors and fishermen with an official or bureaucratic class of comparatively simple habits and manners. For 400 years Norway had had practically no history, political or literary, to speak of. With a poor soil and a hard climate the old gentry or nobility had sunk into the *storbonde* or big farmer class and their place had been taken by Danish officials. Travel was difficult and the population of the rural districts lived in a kind of isolation. The peasant farmers were a rough but hardy and independent race. Although they had lived in official subjection to the Danes they were accustomed to a good deal of local liberty under the leadership of the parish clergy. Sweden, on the other hand, was a country in which many aristocratic and military traditions had maintained themselves in vigour. It had been one of the Great Powers of Europe almost since Gustavus Vasa's time and had played a decisive part in European history under his grandson, Gustavus Adolphus. Naturally if the Scandinavian ideal of a united North was to be realized, it looked upon itself as the centre of such a movement. It should be the leading power in a federation which would make the future of the North secure. There was a time when with some patience and moderation that ideal might have been realized in spite of the centuries of wars and jealousies which had divided the Scandinavian countries. But patience and moderation are things which come to a democracy only by long political experience. And Norway was a very young democracy just beginning its career of self-government after centuries during which it could hardly be said to have any collective existence. It cannot be said to have been a very tractable partner. The union had hardly begun to exist when Norway, in spite of Karl Johan's opposition, abolished nobility within its borders, an ungracious way of warding off Swedish influences. Partly also it was the effect of the new French doctrines of liberty and equality, of the sovereignty and rights of the people, for the political gospel of Rousseau found a favourable soil in Norway. Everything in the shape of national life was new in Norway, the Parliament, the university, the national bank, the High Court. In a few years also



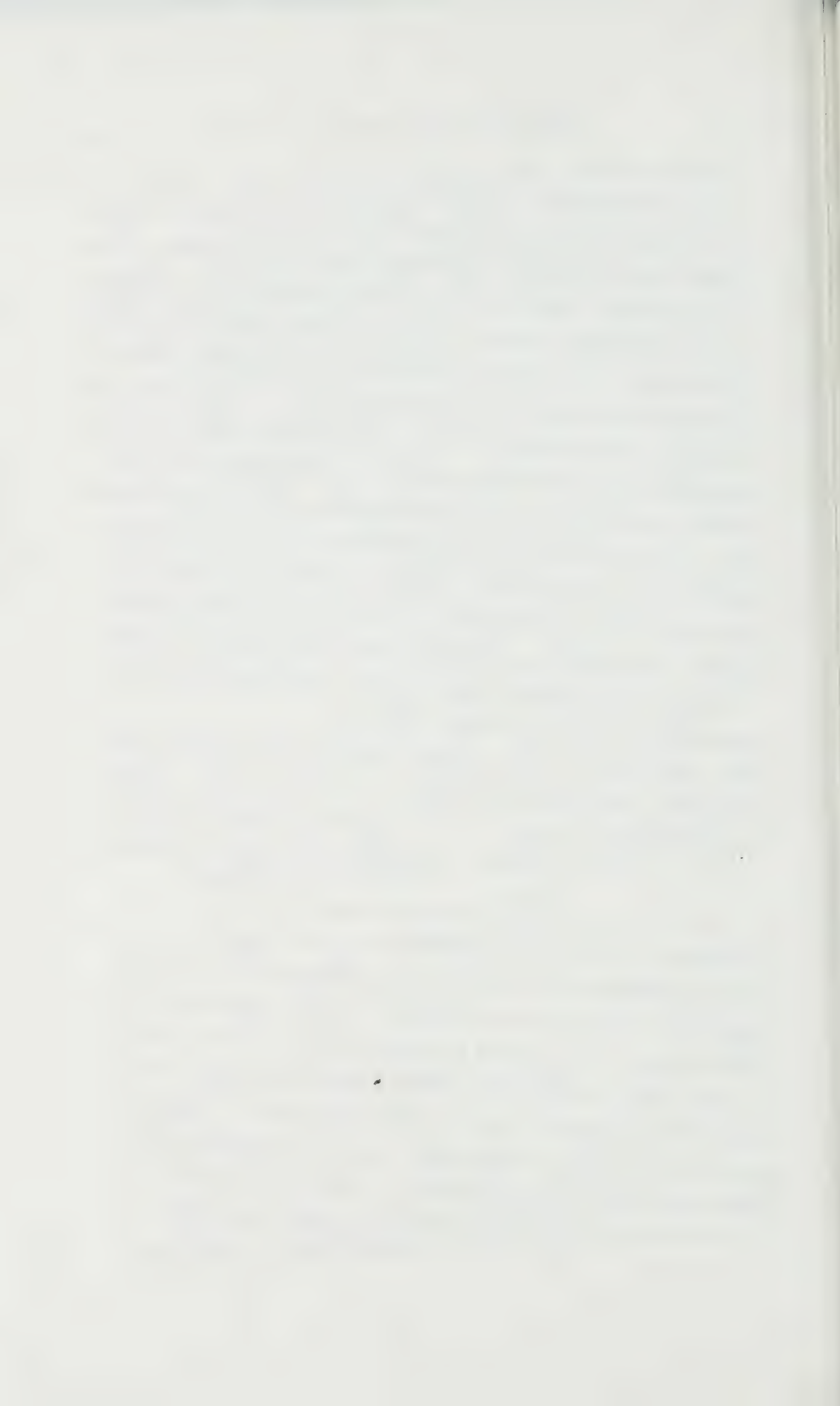


a strong literary fermentation—it was the day of such—had arisen amongst the younger generation, the vigour of which you can judge by its matured products in Wergeland, Welhaven, and a little later Bjørnson, Ibsen and Vinje, besides a dozen others of lesser note. Strong currents of enthusiasm and excitement were set flowing in a people who had regained after hundreds of years a self-government which reminded them of the far back years when the fame of Norse kings and jarls went through every European land. It takes an effort for us to realize the feeling of a Norwegian when a Norse assembly met once again. The joy and enthusiasm were without limits, and the expectations as well. For the next half century Norwegian poetry resounds with patriotic songs asserting the warlike spirit (*Kjaempeann*) of the Norsemen and with never failing references to these old Hakons and Olafs of the Viking period. Every writer considers it a sacred duty to add his variation to old Nordahl Brun's *For Norge Kjaempers Födeland*. Wergeland, the most national of the poets of that time, sang with his usual vigour and verve that Norway's high time had now come:

“Now is Norway's high hour come; her ancient Ting meets once more and the voice of every Norse vale is heard high and clear in solemn council. . . . See Gudbraudsvale sits there in the person of a gray old man! When he rises in the assembly, all listen! . . . Oh, what joy for thy old towers, Akershus, could thou see Hakon's times again!”

#### *Radicalism in Norway.*

It was in vain that Wergeland's great rival, the fine-thoughted and classical Welhaven, attempted to moderate what he considered the raw enthusiasm of his countrymen by the sharp satire of *Norges Daemring*, a famous Sonnet series published in 1834. He had support enough from the intellectual circles of Christiania, but the people, the farmer, the minister, the schoolmaster (a great personage in Norway) was all with Wergeland, true type of the high-spirited Norwegian—*den kække Normand*—just as later it was all with the genial and magnificent optimism of Bjørnson. A sort of radical-nationalist movement began to gather strength. It was founded very much on an idealized view of the innate



wisdom and capacity of the Norwegian farmer or bonde to decide the policy of the nation. But though Gudbrandsvale was sagacious and frugal and a very good judge of what immediately concerned him, his understanding of things outside of his fences was very limited. A bönde party in parliament could see no earthly use for a united Scandinavia which might only mean an increase of taxation. It meant to spend as little as possible on paying soldiers and diplomatists especially if they were Swedish. Were they not a peaceable people with goodwill towards all men on earth? Who should meddle with them, if once the Swedes were put in their proper place? In most of these questions the radical party was one with it. All were under the impression that by steadily shutting your eyes to foreign or international affairs, you thereby relegated them to another part of the solar system. Out of all this there emerged gradually a strong Left party which partly under the influence of the English political cries of that time, decentralization, individualistic development, Mill on Liberty, etc., stood pertinaciously on formal questions of status, constitutional framework and symbols, matters which were not just then the all-important matter and might have been left to sink quietly into insignificance as the union grew into a great new democracy. But nothing would content young radicalism but the immediate possession of its toys. Everything must be made Norse, and pure Norse, *norsk-norsk*, at once. Even the better men had to go with the stream, as Welhaven complained in one of the boldest of his sonnets.\* So things continued to go wrong with the union. There was plenty of Scandinavian sentiment and sentimentality, toasting and feasting and meetings of students, but officially Norway walked steadily on the path of separation, though without in the least meaning it should end that way. And Norway held the key to the whole Scandinavian situation for she was the natural link between the other two Scandinavian countries, connected by language and tradition with the one and by political union with the other.

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\*I plumpe Raab fra Tölperen og Taapen.





*The Blow to Scandinavianism.*

In 1844 Norway demanded and got its own war-flag, still with the union mark. In 1857 Norway rejected the proposal for a common judiciary and a year or two later passed a resolution abolishing the stadtholdership, an office which did something to connect the two governments. Sweden, of course, was disappointed and irritated, and some hot-heads in the Swedish parliament began to babble in the usual way: "What was this Norway but an insignificant little country," etc. etc. And Björnson of course to reply in the shape of fiery national songs which made the babble immortal and burned it into every young Norse heart:

Hast thou heard what Sweden's saying  
O young Norwegian man?

It was an unceasing progression in the direction of separation without any new principle of unity being introduced. In 1863 the first consequences of these constitutional controversies, breeding doubt and discord, came like a thunderclap. Bismarck taking advantage of this Scandinavian discord, with his usual sagacity swooped down on Schleswig-Holstein, overwhelmed the Danish resistance and secured, eventually, the whole of the double province for Prussia. The northern part of it had been Danish, "land of the Norsemen" in the days of Charlemagne. The little country of Denmark had lost a third of its territory at a blow. It was another Scandinavian tragedy, and they all, Danes, Norsemen and Swedes, felt it as such. In Norway, as well as in Denmark, there was bitter wailing, even amongst the Norsk enthusiasts who for years back had been carrying on a literary campaign against Danish influences in literature, in language, in the theatre, etc. Now they were angry because a parliament of farmers, whom they had never taught better, had neglected military preparation and hesitated to tax themselves for a war on behalf of Denmark. The Swedes, too, the chief military power of Scandinavia, had been chilled by the separatist Norse policy. Now, when it was too late, Björnson called loudly in new songs on Sweden to lead the united might of the North forth against Germany. The old blue and yellow of dear Sweden shall be





the leading flag now; now Sweden is undoubtedly the chief and must marshall the force of the North if it is to be marshalled.\*

Björnson thought at this time that the mere sight of the Swedish flag at the head of the Scandinavian armies would have made the German stop; he would "understand"—*men ser han det, forstaar han*. It might have been so, had the union shown energy and vitality, but Bismarck had gauged the situation better than Björnson who was really reasoning from a situation and conditions which no longer existed. Prussia and Sweden no longer stood to each other, in respect of military power, as they had done in the eighteenth century.

*Ibsen on the Failure.*

That other great Norwegian, Henrik Ibsen, also wrote at this crisis the most stirring of his lyrics, *A Brother in Need*, in equally vain appeal, though the heart of a Scandinavian mouse might have been stirred by its lines:

Hvert stormsuk som i Norge gaar  
langs li fra Danmarks hav.

Ibsen, who was a deeper man than Björnson, was not so sure of the result as you see from his letters, but he thought it was a case for the North to do or die.

But neither Norway nor Sweden mustered to the aid of Denmark, though a number of volunteers went from both. To the parliament of farmers and pacifist radicals in Norway national existence was mainly an equation between the debit and credit sides of the budget, with due opportunities for public orations on '17th May' day. Ibsen who saw—clearly enough now—that the Scandinavian peoples for the third time had lost the road which led to unity and security, withdrew from his native country, a melancholy and somewhat bitter exile. He writes to Björnson from Rome: "Lies and illusion—that was all it was then" (he means the meetings, conferences, brother-banquets and orations of the Scandinavian movement). "We must strike the pen through our old Viking histories, for the Norwegians of to-day have no more to do with that ancient past than the Greek pirates of to-day with the

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\**Til Sverige*. Löft du dit gamle gule-blaa. Decem. 1863.



race that sailed to Troy." And to Magdalene Thoresen he expresses himself even more disconsolately as if he doubted any enduring future even for the intellectual or spiritual life of his people. "We have not the will-power," he says, "to make the sacrifices the time calls for." (Letters, Sept. 1864 and Dec. 1865). He was wrong about the intellectual life, both as regards Sweden and Norway, and he himself mainly contributed to falsify his prophecy in this respect as the first author of really European or world-wide fame in these two countries, for neither Tegner nor Björnson can quite compete with him in this respect. But he commenced by immortalizing his scorn of the Scandinavian failure and of the phrase-making of modern Radicalism in *Peer Gynt* and *The Young Man's Union*. The old saga and Viking themes, Heroes of Helgeland and the like he never touched again, but went on to evolve a new social drama which submitted modern society to the sharpest probing and criticism it had yet received. These satires of Ibsen raised a clatter of indignation and protest amongst the critics of Christiania, but Ibsen was not then a power in the land like Björnson, and the "grey old farmer" from Gudbrandsdale under the leading of doctrinaire Radicals continued to walk complacently on his path of disruption, or his successor whoever he was, for Ole Haagenstad had long retired from the Storting or Norse Parliament to live, according to bönde usage then, on bacon and veal which he kept stored for ten or twenty years till it was green and black with age.\*

#### *The Dissolution of the Union.*

In 1892 the Norwegian Storting passed a resolution in favour of separate consulates from those of Sweden, a measure which Swedish opposition however delayed for twelve years. The flag question had been a sore one from the beginning. In 1844 Norway had her own war-flag substituted for Sweden's, though with the union mark upon it, an event celebrated as the freeing of the flag in Christian Monsen's glowing lyric: "Now the sailor's heart beats with redoubled vigour! How oft he

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\*See Vinje's *Ferdaminni*. The bönde-idealism was subsiding with further experience, and Vinje's ironic picture of old Gudbrandsvale rather takes the halo off him.





felt the smart when hoisting an alien unfamiliar flag . . . . With joy does Norway behold thee, proud, free flag that Olaf once and Sigurd the Crusader bore o'er the wild wave. As Northern Lights shalt thou shine far over the blue of ocean. And Norway shall win again her ancient glory there." But now, in 1898, there was a further agitation for the removal of the sign of union from the flag, and this year it was accordingly removed from the mercantile flag. In 1905 the discord came to a head over the question of a separate consulate for Norway, whose shipping indeed was considerably greater than Sweden's. The Storting for the second time passed a resolution to establish separate consulates. The feeling in Sweden was that at least such an important step should have been taken only after the consent of both peoples, and King Oscar accordingly refused his assent to the measure. The Storting retorted by declaring that King Oscar had ceased to reign. A plebiscite approved the Norse ministry's action almost unanimously. Björnson praised the premier Michelsen in verses which declared that his clear intellect had set the course for the ship of State and piloted it straight into the haven,—haven of independence or popular government apparently, for I am not quite sure what he means by *folkehavnen*.

So ended the "union of the North", which was to renew the glory of old Norse days. At the worst of the crisis the Norse fleet and army had been held ready for action. No doubt the fault was not all on one side. Sweden with her superior resources and famous history which did not need to go back to the Viking age for its glories, may have thought too little at first of the Norwegian country, and of course there were the usual rash speeches of hot-headed fools in the Swedish parliament sure to be reported in large type by newspapers in search of sensations or of something to help their party. There was also, however, some difference of views and policy in relation to Russia and foreign countries in general. While Norway tended to English views, Sweden tended to German ones. The enthusiasm of the Danes for Scandinavian unity had its root originally in their need of protection against Germany, as Carl Ploub had openly stated in his address to the meeting of Scandinavian students at Uppsala in 1843. But this very fact came to operate eventually against the move-





ments in the minds of many Swedes. In the late nineties when there was a revival of the movement, Beugt Lindforss, a well-known Lund professor, warned his countrymen to put a little more coolness into their relations with the Danes, as Germany had her vigilant eye on them. After the break with Norway, that distinguished Swedish publicist, Harald Hjärne, congratulated himself that at least Swedish foreign policy need no longer be influenced in an anti-German direction. For these reasons Swedish Scandinavianism had been apt to take an ideal rather than a practical form. In short, the three Scandinavian peoples had once more failed to solve their problem.

*Björnson Looks at His Work.*

A year after Norway had dissolved the union, Björnson fulfilling an old promise went to Copenhagen to address the Danes on "the future of the North."\* It must have been a delicate task for him. He had been a leader in every decentralizing movement that had insulated Norway in literature, art and politics from her two sister nations, except that he was not an extreme landsmaal or native dialect man. He had been the popular force behind the politicians and led the hurrahs on all occasions. And now that the countries had fallen clean apart and the Scandinavian ideal was as good as dead, he came down to the depressed and discouraged little people of the Danes to talk about the "Future of the North." He was a man of the finest literary genius with a power of moving speech which old age—he was now past seventy—had perhaps improved rather than weakened, for if his eloquence was less fiery it had a fine simplicity of accent and phrase which went to the heart. It needs an effort to steady oneself against the old man's speech and keep a fixed eye on its inner inconsistencies. You have to abstract the logical lines of thought from that cover of moving words and look at them in their nakedness to realize the situation he is describing. He does not attempt to hide that the ideal of Scandinavian unity has been destroyed and that the peoples are more apart than they were in 1864 or when Norway entered the union. He admits

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\*See *To Taler*, published by Gyldendal.



that Sweden with its superior power of organization is the great Scandinavian people (det store Folk and is fitted to be the leader in a union which would eventually have included all three peoples. Yet he blames Sweden for having sought to preserve some links of unity in the federation (such as the common consulates, co-operation in military organization, union mark on the flags, etc.); he blames her for feeling hurt and indignant at the long series of quarrels and conflicts which Norway had initiated on such questions and which ended in a break. He speaks as if it had been Sweden that had lost sight of the great ideal of Scandinavian unity, as if it had been she that declared the union dissolved. "Had Sweden but seen her task and the great rôle which she destroyed by a mistaken policy." For what did Norway want? Björnson in another part of his speech explains this delicate point on fine and very debatable constitutional lines. The union was not originally, he declares, a union of peoples or nations, it was a transference from one king to another (*en Overdragelse fra Konge til Konge*), and Norway therefore had the right to cut loose from all but the link of a common king. One might add also a king whose single power of veto had been constantly challenged and set at nought by the Norwegian Parliament. That was Björnson's idea of the union.

And now that it has all gone to pieces those high hopes of Scandinavian union and a common Scandinavian future, what has Björnson to say to these poor Danes who are quite aware of the dangers looming ahead in Europe for them, and a little uneasy over German policies and Pan-Germanist cries, '*von Skagen bis zur Adria*'—(From the Cattegat to the Adriatic)—what does Björnson say to those Danes now? It sounds absurd, but here it is in his own words: "How shall we now, all three of us, come together again? That is the question. How shall we be united again?" And he goes on to say that it now "depends upon the Swede," but that "the Swede is angry." And again, a page or two later, he cries: "How shall we now come together? What shall we do to achieve that?" "And why should we come together?" he asks, and he explains why: "In order together to seek stronger alliances. That is the only, only, only way in which we small





peoples can secure our future. . . . And it is to preach this that I have come here."

*Pan-Germanism in the North.*

Björnson evidently realizes the situation better now than he did in the old days when his trust in a coming era of universal peace, of arbitration and disarmament was greater. Now he sees only two ways for the Scandinavian peoples, an alliance with all the small nations, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, which would at least give them a voice in "the European concert" which he describes satirically as a case of "the Great Powers sitting and determining what is to be done with us." Or we must seek, he says, the protection of Germany, if only it had a decent system of politics. That is the only barrier, "the unfree institutions which Germany has." He admits that Germany is ruthless; he says: "Germany has no respect for the nationality of others. In the provinces which they have conquered from us, from Poland, from France, they outrage the national spirit and consciences of the people, they trample down our speech . . . and in doing that they really show a contempt for us." Yet he is ready to seek shelter under this very Germany whose iron hand has been laid so heavily on his race. That is how the great optimist and pacifist is ending. Nor is he alone in this tendency. Even in Denmark men like J. V. Jensen and Georg Brandes show sympathies in that direction.\* Brandes it is true is a Jew and cosmopolitan by culture; a great critic and in old days high Radical, breathing death to all 'Holy Alliances'; latterly Danish minister of the interior, with sympathies for the land of Bismarck and Treitschke—and a people that appreciate other literatures than their own; more sympathy at least than for the land of pogroms.

It is the inevitable attraction strength has for the weak, and well does Germany know how to reinforce that sentiment in the small nations around her. Björnson, however, covers his surrender by a misty sort of Pan-Germanism which includes the Germanic races in Austria, Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia and even Great Britain and the United States. It is to be a great Germanic federation. "That is the great

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\*Jensen is open enough. See his book *Nordisk Aand* (Gyldendal).





thought which hovers over our life," he says, "and we must begin to work at it . . . , it is a matter of our life." That is the Utopia in which Björnson finds escape when he began to realize the ruin he had done so much to bring about.

*Federations Real and Utopian.*

For his schemes seem rather Utopian . The paper alliances of small states will never bear the strain of a crisis, as we see to-day. And paper alliances between a large and a small State are likely to work out to the cost of the small State, as we also see to-day. There is an artificial element in such that breeds doubt and hesitation at the decisive moment. It is only the family or political federation under one roof that gives equal security to all, because it is the same security for all and is based on something which is not subject to question even in times of crisis and danger. The clear lesson to be learned from the Scandinavian failure is the difficulty of creating new conditions for a union where the existing ones have been too rudely handled or have been allowed to go into disuse. We cannot set too high a value therefore on federative links and connections which already exist in free and natural operation, as they do in the British empire and also in a large part at any rate of the Russian empire. It is only by such federations that the areas of peace can be really enlarged, the areas within which war is unthinkable. The alternative to that is the Roman military empire. For the Utopian ideals of Scandinavian pacifists like Björnson, E. Bull, or Ellen Key are difficult if not impossible to realize in a stage of society which is plainly founded on keen, almost unscrupulous, competition between States and individuals alike. The man is a child in political matters who does not see that trade and commercial expansion are breeding and must breed as much conflict and controversy to-day as religion did in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The one cause has almost ceased to operate while the other seems to be gaining in strength and malice with the increase of its importance. But indeed it has always been a strong predisposing cause of war. You could make a fair history of Europe, and a very picturesque one, out of its trade wars alone from the days when Hanseatic and Norse fleets fought for control of the Baltic down to our own day.

JAMES CAPPON.



## A BIOGRAPHY OF LAKE ONTARIO

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UNTIL recently it has been quite the custom to begin a biography with such words as "Our hero was born of poor but honest parents" and plunge at once into the details of his life and work. But with the increasing spread of the science of eugenics has come an insistent demand for information concerning the contribution which heredity has made to "our hero's" equipment. More than that, modern folk must know what have been the environmental influences which have molded his life. A biography of Lake Ontario must, therefore, include an account of the antecedents of the lake and a discussion of the various agencies which co-operated to bring it into existence.

The all-important external influence in the life of Lake Ontario was that of the ice-sheets which covered this part of North America during the Glacial Period. The history of the lake is intricately interwoven with that of the glaciers; one cannot be recounted without discussing the other.

Less than a quarter century has elapsed since the last echo of controversies concerning the verity of a continental ice cap died away. To-day the theory which Louis Agassiz proposed in 1840 is one of the dogmas of geology. Dogmas, in whatever field of thought they are reclining, tend toward slouchy habits of mind. They encourage the mental laziness with which mankind is all too liberally endowed. Even though the experts agree, it is always worth while to discover what evidence exists to support their conclusions.

The evidence of glaciation in the region round about Kingston is both abundant and convincing; but so accustomed are most of us to it that its keen edge is blunted. Familiarity weakens its force. A comparison between the surficial features of the area covered by the ice-sheets with that beyond their borders will make the evidence clear. Ordinarily, on the lidated materials which form the soil. The gradation between the two is so gradual that it is not possible to say exactly where

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"And some rin up the hill and down dale, knapping the chucky stanes to pieces wi' hammers like sae many road-makers run daft. They say 'tis to see how the world was made."—*St. Ronan's Well*.





one ends and the other begins. The stones in the soil are sharply angular blocks and are composed of the same material as the immediately underlying solid rock. The mantle of loose debris over the surface has quite plainly been derived from the weathering and decay of the subjacent strata.

Within the glaciated area, on the other hand, the solid rock is sharply and clearly distinguished from the mantle of debris which rests upon it. The soil bears no relation to the formations beneath it and includes pebbles and rounded boulders of rocks whose nearest outcrops are scores or hundreds of miles to the northward. The boulders, large and small, are indiscriminately intermingled with fine, yellowish, sandy clay. The whole mass may be absolutely without signs of bedding or stratification and is then known as "glacial till" or "drift"; or it may be well assorted into distinct layers and should then be referred to as "stratified drift."

Rock surfaces, as well as the boulders in the drift, are generally scratched, grooved, and gouged in parallel lines. On the loose boulders, these striae, as they are called, may run in any direction but on the solid rock they are arranged in one or more parallel sets. In the Kingston district striae are best developed on the limestones and sandstones. The exposure on the north shore of Wolfe Island, a third of a mile west of the ferry landing, is remarkably good. Similar, though less striking, features are observable at many places in and near Kingston. Striated sandstone surfaces are especially numerous on either side of the Rideau Canal above the locks at Kingston Mills.

Occasionally, the boulders of the drift are of great size, ten to thirty feet in diameter, but the great majority of them are less than two feet. The unusually large erratics sometimes form prominent features of the landscape. Two examples may be noted: one near Point Road midway between Barriefield and Rideau, and the other along the Perth Road, a mile south of Inverary. Each of these boulders has been carried many miles from its parent ledge to its present resting place.

uplands and hillsides of the southern states, the solid rock is not sharply demarked from the overlying mantle of unconso-

It is evident that the same agency which transported and deposited the drift must have striated and planed the rock sur-





face on which the drift rests. Glacial ice may be seen doing this very sort of work in the Rocky Mountains and in Greenland. No other agency, known or imagined, has ever been suggested which is capable of producing the observed results.

The striae on glaciated surfaces within Frontenac county generally run in a direction about  $40^{\circ}$  west of south. This set of grooves is in places crossed by a younger and fainter set of scratches which have a more nearly southerly trend. The older and more conspicuous markings were made by the deeper portion of the ice when its margin was far south of St. Lawrence Valley and indicate the general direction of ice movement from the central gathering grounds east of James Bay. The later striae superimposed upon these, represent the movement of marginal ice during the stages of retreat.

In the region about Kingston, there is no good evidence that ice moved over the land more than once, but elsewhere there are phenomena which may be explained only by recurrence of glaciation. In this vicinity the latest ice advance obliterated all traces of earlier glacial stages. Near Toronto, however, deposits made by at least two successive ice sheets are exposed with inter-glacial beds resting on the older drift, and beneath the more recent till. Plant remains in these inter-glacial deposits include the leaves or fruit of the ozage orange, paw-paw, and locust, trees which at present do not thrive north of southern Ohio and Pennsylvania. The climate of southern Canada during that inter-glacial time must, therefore, have been milder than that of to-day.

Exactly what the Ontario basin looked like before the first glaciers of the ice age moved southward cannot be told. But it is certain that the Great Lakes did not exist at that time. Instead there were large rivers, the ancestral St. Lawrence and its tributaries, which rose in Indiana, Ohio, southern Ontario and New York. Their general trend was probably toward the northeast and the master stream may have followed a course not far removed from that of the St. Lawrence to-day.

Again, we do not know just what were the results of the earlier ice invasions although it is probable that much of the work of gouging out the deep basin now occupied by Lake Ontario was accomplished by them. Indeed, there is evidence for belief that a lake comparable to Ontario was present during at



least one of the inter-glacial stages. (Coleman, 1914, p. 444).\* The known history of the Lake Ontario basin begins with the latest glacial epoch.

During that epoch of refrigeration the Labradorian ice sheet spread outward in all directions from its centre east of James Bay. Its south-western portion advanced across Ontario and covered nearly all of New York State and part of

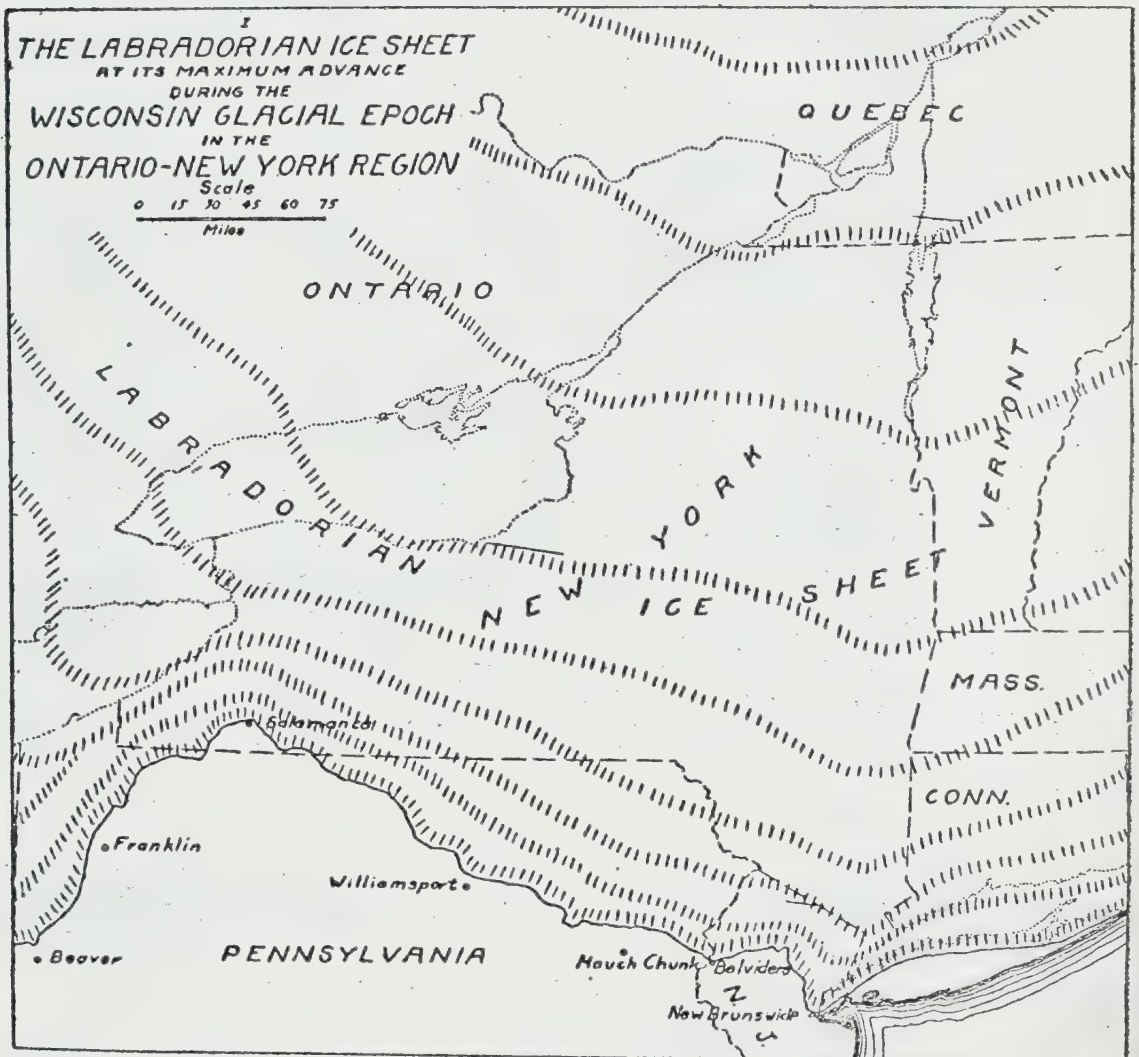


Fig. 1

Ohio. At its maximum extent the ice edge occupied the position indicated on figure 1. For some time, climatic conditions were such as to maintain a close balance between the outward movement of the ice and wastage due to melting at and near its border. Then the climate gradually became milder. No longer was the movement of ice toward the south sufficiently

\*See bibliography at end of article.





rapid to replace the increasing losses at the front through melting, and retreat was inevitable. Withdrawal of the ice margin was interrupted and delayed by many counter attacks which in places temporarily regained the lost terrane, but the steady push of the rising temperature ultimately prevailed.

As long as the ice front rested on the southern slope of the divide which runs in a general east-west di-

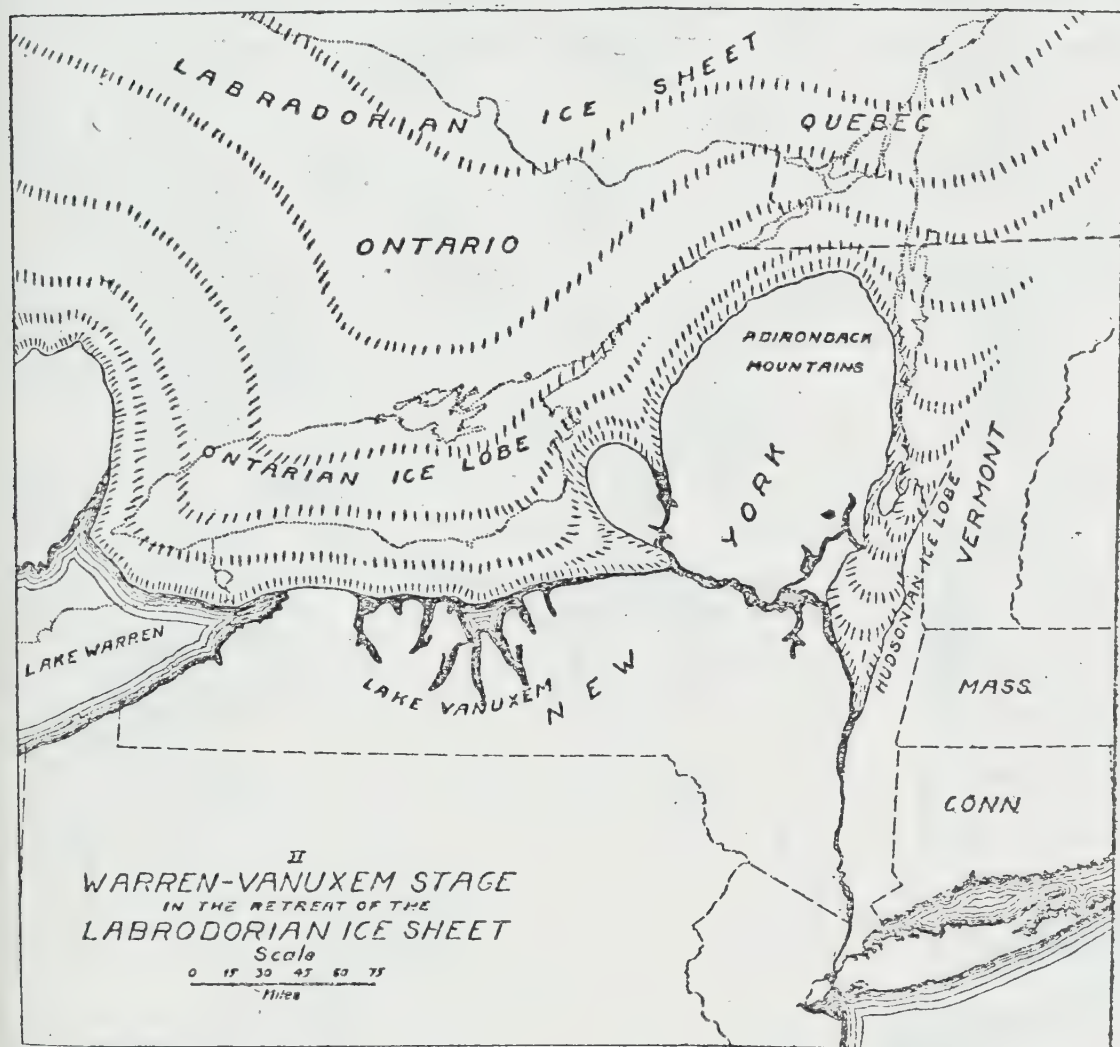


Fig. 2

rection across southern New York State, the floods of water liberated from the melting glaciers were free to escape down the valleys of the Alleghany, Susquehanna, and Delaware Rivers. Further retreat north of the crest of this divide caused a multitude of lakes to appear, for the glacial waters caught between the ice-front on the north and the divide on the south, were ponded and rose to the height of the lowest notch in the





rim of each valley. The several successive stages in the history of these lakes make a complicated story; new outlets at lower levels were uncovered by withdrawal of the ice and old outlets were sometimes closed during temporary readvances of the ice masses as the oscillatory retreat progressed. (Fairchild, 1909 and 1912).

A typical stage during the waning of the ice is illustrated in figure 2. The high land area of the Adirondack Mountains

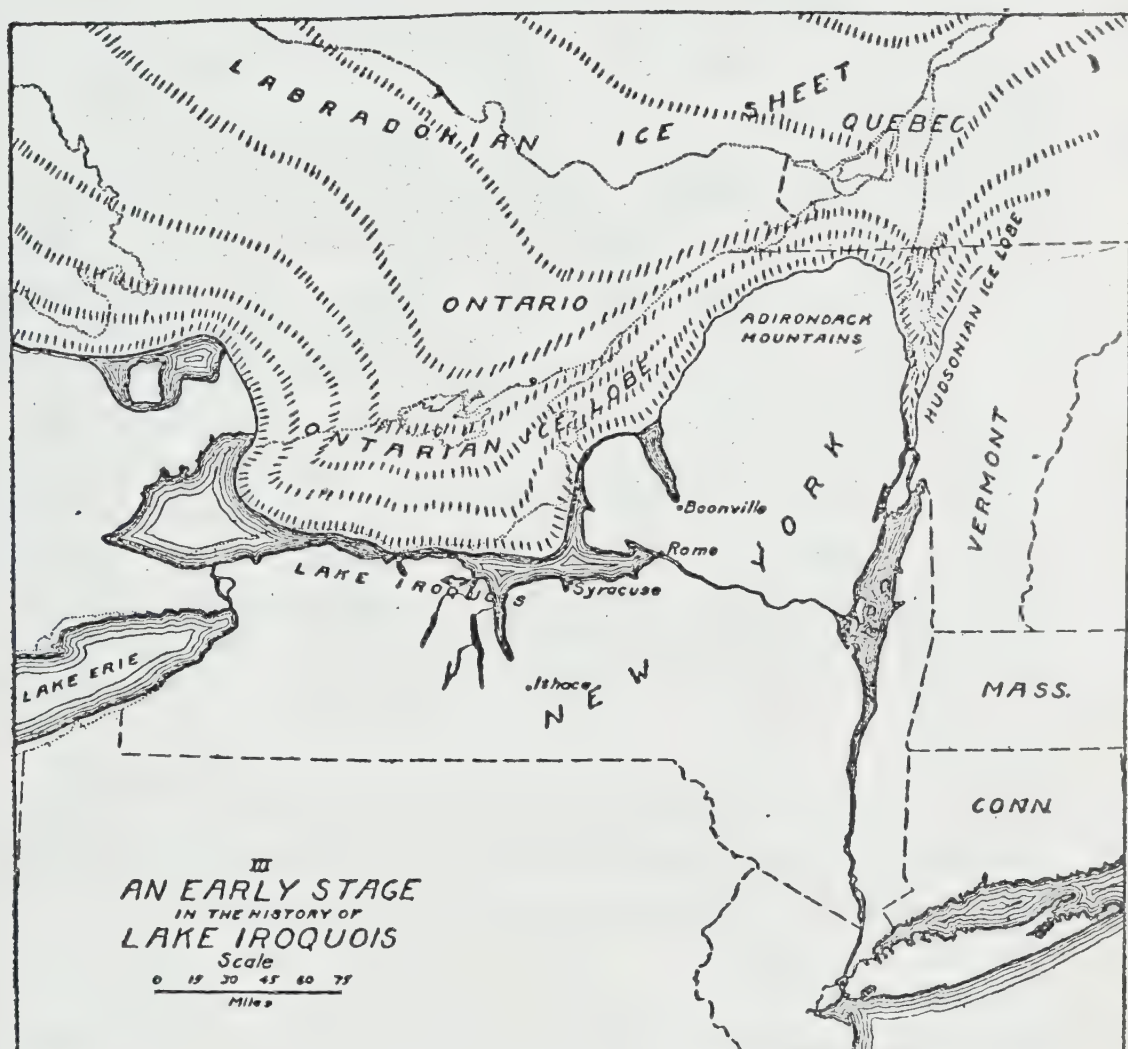


Fig. 3

had split the Labradorian ice sheet into two lobes: the Ontarian, occupying the basin of Lake Ontario, and the Hudsonian, partially filling the long trench now occupied by Lake Champlain and Hudson River. At the west, the Ontarian ice lobe blocked the Niagara River outlet of Lake Erie and the water in that basin rose until it flooded much of the southwestern peninsula of Ontario, united with the water in the Lake Huron-



Saginaw Bay basin, and overflowed westward through central Michigan to Lake Chicago in the southern part of the Lake Michigan basin. Thence it drained southwestward down the Illinois to the Mississippi River. This ancient body of water is known among geologists as Lake Warren. (Taylor, 1915, pp. 392-398, pl. 17).

In central New York, there existed a many-armed lake known as Lake Vanuxem. It filled the northward trending valleys of the "Finger-lake Region", west and north from Ithaca, and drained eastward along the ice margin, south of Syracuse, to the head of Mohawk Valley. Outflow down the Hudson was blocked by the Hudsonian ice lobe and Mohawk Valley was occupied by glacial Lake Amsterdam which overflowed southward between the ice-front and the Helderberg escarpment into Hudson Valley. The upper part of the Black River valley was likewise occupied by a small lake whose waters spilled over the divide to the southward into Lake Amsterdam.

Further melting back of the ice brought into existence conditions represented in figure 3. Removal of the ice-dam across Niagara River permitted the waters in the Erie basin to escape northward and the water level fell to its present position at Buffalo. Niagara River followed its present course as far as the escarpment which overlooks Queenston and, plunging over the cliff, inaugurated the Falls of Niagara. (Spencer, 1907).

Shrinkage of ice in the Ontario basin permitted the partial draining of valleys in the "Finger-lake Region" of New York. Seneca and Keuka Lakes, and other smaller bodies of water in that region, assumed proportions comparable to those of the present time. But the great mass of the Ontarian ice lobe effectively blocked all drainage down St. Lawrence Valley and forced the water in front of it to rise to the level of the outlet at Rome, N.Y. This resulted in the submergence of extensive areas in Ontario and New York, for that outlet is over 200 feet above the present level of Lake Ontario. The glacial lake thus formed is known as Lake Iroquois.

Withdrawal of the ice lobe in the Champlain-Hudson Valley permitted free discharge down Mohawk Valley, but at its junction with the Hudson another glacial lake, which we may call Lake Albany, was formed. At that time the whole north-eastern portion of North America was tilted downward with





respect to its present level. The conditions seem to have been exactly those which would have resulted if the weight of the great ice sheets had depressed the continental masses upon which they rested. In consequence of this flexure of the land, the Albany-Schenectady district, then at a lower level than the Hudson Valley at Poughkeepsie, was submerged beneath the waters of the lake indicated in figure 3.

The area of Lake Iroquois fluctuated greatly from time to time as the ice edge alternately advanced or retreated, but its level, controlled by the outlet through the pass at Rome, remained fairly constant. As a result the lake was permitted to leave its autograph in the form of well-marked shore features and deposits. Wave-cut cliffs, gravel beaches, off-shore bars, spits, and sandy hooks may be observed at many places along its ancient shore line; bedded clays and silts which collected in the deeper waters at some distance from the shore are commonly present throughout the region that was once lake bottom.

The town of Dundas, five miles west of Hamilton, Ontario, is situated on the Iroquois beach at the extreme western end of the ancient lake. The water, when the lake was deepest at this locality, stood at a level which is now 362 feet above the sea. South of Hamilton, the waves of Lake Iroquois dashed against the base of the 300 foot cliff which overlooks the city. The great gravel ridge, along which the Grand Trunk Railway enters Hamilton from the north, was a barrier beach built by the currents of the vanished lake. It formed an ancient Dundas Bay which in Iroquois time was the counterpart of the modern Burlington Bay. (Coleman, 1913 a, pp. 72-74).

Traced eastward along either side of Lake Ontario, the Iroquois beaches rise steadily higher and higher above sea level. The greater part of Toronto is built upon the sandy bottom of the ancient lake and its shore line may be traced through the outskirts of the city. In West Toronto the Iroquois beach is 422 feet above sea level, while at Scarboro Heights it attains an altitude of 446 feet. (Coleman, 1913 b, p. 32). Near Trenton the ancient shore line may be traced above the sea and in the vicinity of Madoc its elevation is 696 feet. Along the southern shore elevations are as follows: Rochester, N.Y., 440 feet; Rome (outlet), 460 feet; Water-





town, 671 feet; Potsdam, N.Y., 900 feet; Covey Hill, Que., 1030 feet. (Fairchild, 1916, plate 11).

It is obvious that the surface of Lake Iroquois must have been very nearly horizontal; its beaches when under construction could have varied only slightly in elevation from place to place. Variations in wind velocity and direction, as well as differences in configuration of lake bottom and shore, caused the upper limit of wave action to vary in height in Lake Iroquois as in any modern lake. But much more important was the influence of the ice sheet to the north. Most of its mass was above the level of the waters which dashed against the foot of the lofty ice cliffs forming the northern boundary of the lake. The gravitative attraction of the ice must have elevated the water adjacent to it and caused the lake surface to depart somewhat from a horizontal plane. In the same way Himalaya Mountains pull upward the sea water along the coast of northern India so that sea level is appreciably higher at Calcutta than at Ceylon. The amount of distortion of the marginal glacial lake surfaces depended upon the area, thickness and surface configuration of the ice sheet. Although the first of these variables is fairly well known, it is impossible to make more than an educated guess as to the other two. If the ice was between 5,000 and 10,000 feet in thickness, as seems probable, and its surface sloped somewhat gradually toward the margin, the Iroquois water along the ice front would have stood possibly thirty or forty feet higher than that along the Hamilton-Syracuse shore.

Northward elevation of the water surface and hence of the beaches, amounting to two or three inches per mile, may thus be attributed to ice attraction, but the Iroquois shore lines now show an average uplift, in the direction N. 20° E., of about 2.5 feet per mile. Evidently, tilting of the Ontario basin has occurred since the extinction of Lake Iroquois. If the heavy load of the ice sheets had depressed the continental areas upon which the ice rested, readjustment consequent upon the melting of the ice might have caused this upward warping of the northeastern portion of North America.

Studies of the shore features of Lake Iroquois show that the Lake persisted with little change until the ice had retreated to the position indicated in figure 4. As long as the glacial masses rested against the northern slope of the Adirondack



highlands no escape of the ponded waters at an outlet lower than that at Rome, New York, was possible. The northernmost outpost of the Adirondack Mountains is Covey Hill just north of the international boundary in Quebec. It is separated from the higher lands in New York State by a broad, deep gorge known as Covey Gulf. At the present time the floor of the "gulf" is 1,015 feet above sea level but in Iroquois time its altitude was almost exactly the same as that of the outlet chan-

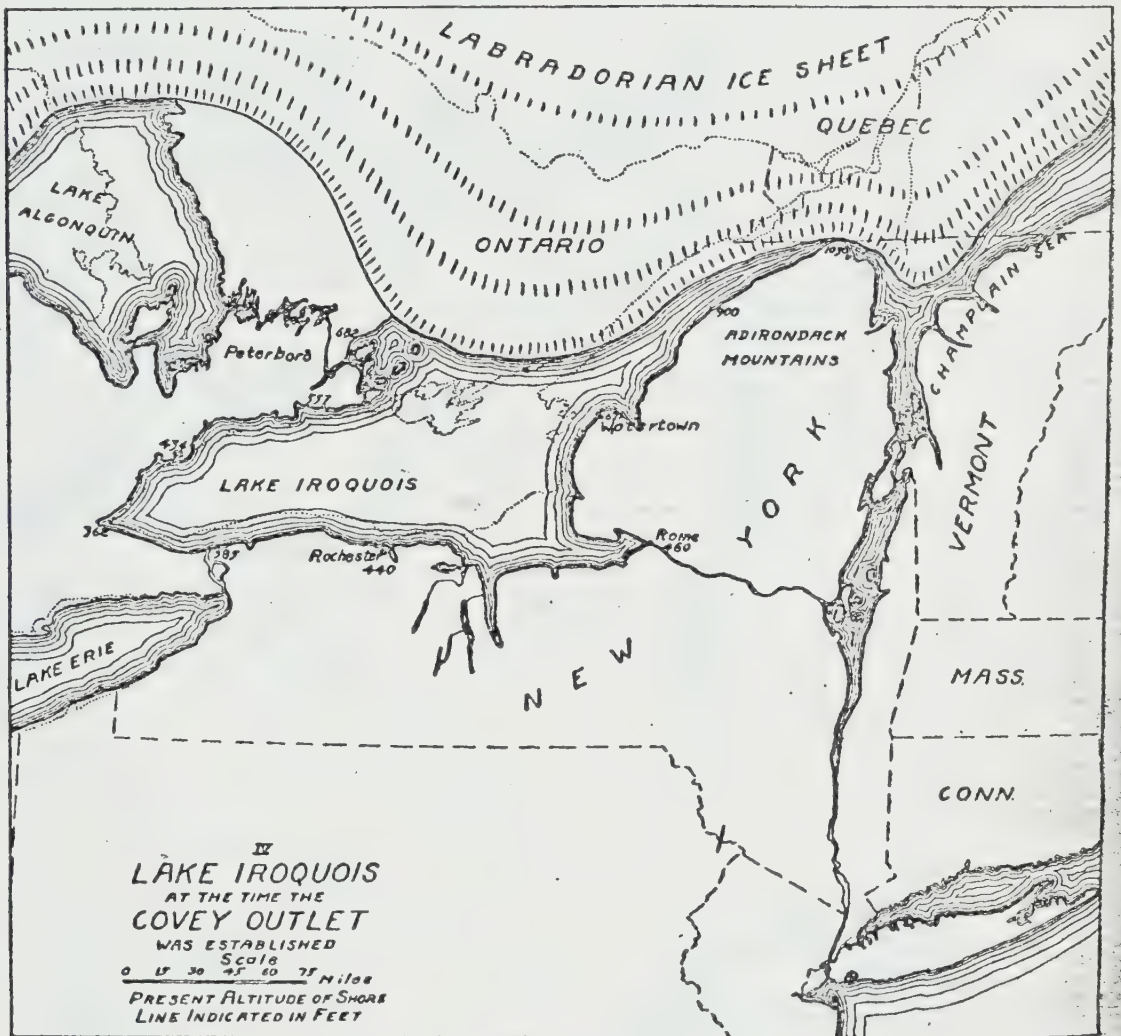


Fig. 4

nel at Rome. When the retreat of the ice front had uncovered this passageway, part, if not all, of the Iroquois overflow escaped through it into the Champlain Valley. (Goldthwait, 1913, p. 126).

While the Ontarian ice lobe was retreating from the position shown on figure 3 to that on figure 4, similar withdrawal of the ice lobes in the Huron-Michigan-Superior basins was





taking place. At first the discharge from those basins had been in part by way of Chicago to Illinois River, thence down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and in part by way of St. Clair and Detroit Rivers to Lake Erie. When the ice melted away from the Kirkfield-Fenelon Falls region, east of Georgian Bay, a new outlet at a lower level than the old ones was provided. (Taylor, 1915, pp. 409-438). Outflow from Lake Algonquin, the lake in the three upper Great Lake basins, was



Fig. 5

at once diverted to this new outlet and Algonquin River, following the Trent Valley chain of lakes and rivers, discharged its waters into Lake Iroquois. (Johnston, 1916 a). The Trent canal has, in a sense, restored this ancient connection between the upper and the lower lakes.

North from Covey Hill, Quebec, the land drops rapidly away to the broad low valley of the St. Lawrence. As soon,





therefore, as the ice front had withdrawn from the northern slopes of that hill, Lake Iroquois was drained. The level of the water in the Ontario basin and St. Lawrence valley immediately fell to sea level, but sea level then was quite different from that of the present time. The downward tilting of the north-eastern portion of North America permitted the sea to extend far up the valleys of St. Lawrence River and its tributaries. The maximum submergence is roughly indicated on figure 5, but the outlines of the land shown there are in many places only approximate. Accurate and detailed topographic maps are available for only a small portion of the area covered.

The marine waters of this closing episode of the glacial period have been named the Champlain Sea from their occupation of the area about Lake Champlain. The great bay extending into the Ontario basin is known as Gilbert Gulf and the arm of Champlain Sea which occupied the valley of the Ottawa and its tributaries may be called the Ottawa Estuary.

The salt waters of Champlain Sea swarmed with marine animals whose remains have been found in the sands and clays deposited on its floor. Its upper limits are denoted by beach gravels and sandy bars which in places likewise contain the shells and bones of entombed marine organisms although the highest marine beaches are rarely fossiliferous. The bones of a whale were discovered in 1882 at Welch's siding, near Smith's Falls, Ontario, in a gravel beach at an altitude of 440 feet above sea level. (Coleman, 1901, p. 133). Shells of marine bivalves are present in many gravel bars on the slopes of Mount Royal on the Island of Montreal; the highest of these is at an elevation of 617 feet. (Stansfield, 1915, p. 29). In the Ottawa Valley, clays containing marine shells have been found at various altitudes up to 510 feet; the limit of marine submergence at Kingsmere, 8 miles northwest of Ottawa, is believed to be 690 feet above the sea. (Johnston, 1915b, p. 5). According to Fairchild, the summit level attained by the marine plane at Covey Hill is now at an altitude of 740 feet. (Fairchild, 1916, p. 241).

No marine fossils have been found farther west than Brockville, but the series of beaches may be traced with a fair degree of continuity both in New York and Ontario. Probably the large rivers entering the head of Gilbert Gulf so freshened the gulf waters that marine organisms could not dwell therein.



On the American side the beaches and deltas which mark the summit position of the marine plane may be observed near Canton at 570 feet, near Watertown at 381 feet, and at Oswego the Gilbert beach passes beneath the waters of Lake Ontario. In Ontario, the upper limit of wave action near Inverary, north of Kingston, is close to 500 feet. From Trenton westward the Gilbert shore line is probably represented by the "lower beaches" indicated by Coleman on his map of Lake Iroquois. (Coleman, 1904, pl. 22). At Belleville the elevation is 323 feet and west of Port Hope the ancient shore line is now covered by Lake Ontario.

As suggested on the accompanying map, figure 5, the maximum submergence beneath Champlain Sea was not attained until the ice sheet had withdrawn far to the north of Ottawa Valley. When Lake Iroquois disappeared, sea level was at least 100 feet lower than at the stage represented by the highest marine beaches. Algonquin River, outflowing from Lake Algonquin down the Trent Valley, extended its channel as far as the present lake level and possibly farther. But the melting of the ice was liberating vast floods of water which slowly increased the volume of the ocean and caused an upward movement of sea level the world around. As the ice front retreated farther and farther northward, the ocean strand crept up toward the head of the Ontario basin. Removal of the ice from the neighborhood of Lake Nipissing uncovered there an outlet for the upper Great Lakes at a lower elevation than that at Kirkfield and Fenelon Falls. For a time those lakes overflowed at North Bay, Ontario, down Mattawa and Ottawa Rivers. (Taylor, 1915, p. 448).

Deposits made by the waves and currents of Lake Iroquois and Champlain Sea are present nearly everywhere throughout Ontario and Quebec. In the more quiet off-shore waters, fine muds accumulated to form bedded clays, beautifully banded as a result of seasonal variation in the muds. Occasional pebbles or boulders frozen in ice bergs or ice floes were floated out from shore and may be found embedded in the muds. These banded or laminated clays are now utilized in manufacturing brick and tile at many a clay-pit throughout eastern Canada. (Baker, 1906). In the neighborhood of Kingston, bedded clays are well exposed along the lake shore west of Lake Ontario Park, on Carruthers Point west of Little





Cataraqui Bay, and on Ferguson Point, Wolfe Island. The more active currents near the shores of lake and sea deposited sands and gravel in the form of bars and beaches. These were generally well sorted and washed clean by the waves so that they make excellent materials for concrete work and have been extensively used in road making. (Reinecke, 1916).

The final act of the glacial drama has already been foreshadowed. Removal of the ice load was followed by upward tilting of the area which had been depressed beneath the glacial cap. The continental areas northeast of the "hinge line" indicated on figure 5 were bent upward; the region south of that line remained approximately stationary. The amount of uplift increases with increasing distance northeastward from the neutral lands south of the Great Lakes. For a time elevation of the land must have just counterbalanced the rising of sea level resulting from return of the ice-water to the sea basins. It was then that the highest shore features of Gilbert Gulf and Ottawa Estuary were formed. Soon the continental uplift outdistanced the more slowly rising sea and the strand line began to retreat.

When the Thousand Island region was first raised above sea level, Lake Ontario was born. In a certain sense it is a relic sea which has become freshened by the rainfall of the basin tributary to it. But the distinctive features of the Ontario basin are the result of the glacial action which has just been described. Uplift of the lake's outlet caused a deepening of its waters toward its western end, and at Toronto and Hamilton the lake level has steadily climbed to its present position. At the same time, St. Lawrence River has gradually increased in length as its debouchure pursued the retreating sea shore. At some time in the course of this post-glacial history, every town along the river from Kingston to Lachine has been at the head of navigation for ocean-going vessels. Had Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, and Chevalier de la Salle sailed St. Lawrence River six thousand years ago instead of three hundred, Gananoque or Prescott would have become the Montreal of Canada.

In conclusion, two questions may be profitably discussed: the age of Lake Ontario and its probable future. Neither question is a delicate one when raised in connection with the subject of this biography. How old is Lake Ontario, is a question





osely related to the similar enquiry concerning the length of time since the glacial period. The most accurate chronometer of post-glacial time is the recession of Niagara Falls. The rate of retreat of the Falls is fairly well known as a result of a half century of careful surveys. The total length of Niagara Gorge is an index of the distance the Falls have receded. The length of time indicated is approximately 30,000 years. This is the time since the ice margin was withdrawn north of Queenston and covers not only the life of Lake Ontario but that of Lake Iroquois and Gilbert Gulf as well.

Professor Coleman has hit upon a very ingenious method of reading Lake Ontario's own record of its age. Scarborough cliffs, east of Toronto, are the result of wave erosion and are continually retreating as the waves and currents bite into the shore. The rate of recession is about a foot and a half a year on the average. The lake bottom, off the Scarborough shore, is a gently sloping plane of lacustrine erosion which extends out 13,000 feet before it drops off abruptly to deeper levels. The cliff has in all probability been pushed back that distance by the waves and the length of time involved is approximately 9,000 years. (Coleman, 1914). A similar length of time is implied in the building of the spits and hooks of Toronto Island, although here the data are not nearly so accurate. The shore features of ancient Lake Iroquois are about as prominent as those of modern Lake Ontario and must have required an equivalent length of time for construction. The 30,000 years since Lake Iroquois came into existence may be fairly divided into three intervals of about 10,000 years each, one for each of the three bodies of water which have in turn occupied the Ontario basin.

The most certain fact concerning the future life of Lake Ontario is that, geologically speaking, it will be short. Evidence is accumulating which indicates that the post-glacial uplift of St. Lawrence Valley has come to an end, so that factor does not need to be reckoned with. In any event, a great deal of uplift of the St. Lawrence outlet of the lake would be required before a new outlet could come into use.

Rivers are the mortal enemies of lakes and Lake Ontario cannot escape its fate. The erosion of its outlet will combine with the filling up of its basin and in time the lake must give place to a broad fertile valley with a meandering river travers-



ing its length from Lewiston to Kingston. But the outflowing waters are passing over a granite rim and granite is one of the most slowly eroded of rocks. Furthermore, the lake has robbed St. Lawrence River of tools with which to do its work. The sands and gravels with which the stream might abrade its channel have nearly all settled in the quiet waters of the lake. On the other hand, none of the streams which bring sediment into the lake basin is very large or very heavily loaded. Niagara River leaves Lake Erie in the same clear condition that the St. Lawrence leaves Ontario and its sediment must nearly all be picked up below the brink of the Falls. From the human standpoint, then, changes in the area and altitude of Lake Ontario will be extremely slow and its future demise is a far distant event.

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## THE ROYAL DISALLOWANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

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TO anyone interested in colonial problems, a study of the Royal Disallowance will throw considerable light on the colonial policy of any period. Nor is the question of merely academic interest even to-day. The British North America Act, the Commonwealth of Australia Act, the Constitutions of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, all expressly recognize the Imperial right of disallowance. Since 1867 many Canadian bills have not become law. A number have been passed by the Canadian Legislature but refused the Royal Assent; others have been reserved and never passed. In respect to Provincial legislation alone, 70 provincial acts have been disallowed between 1867 and 1890.<sup>1</sup> An analysis of the reasons for the disallowance of these acts would help to explain the colonial policy of this period and to illustrate the method of Imperial control over colonial legislation. A study along these lines we believe might profitably be made of any colony at any period. It is here proposed, however, to examine the method and policy of Imperial control as expressed by the Royal Disallowance of Massachusetts Legislation between 1692 and 1775.

The practice of returning colonial laws for their approval in England goes back to the days when Virginia and Bermuda were governed by chartered commercial companies. On the dissolution of the famous London Co. in 1624, the Virginia colony became a Royal Province. The practice of sending back laws for approval was still retained, only the laws were now to be subject to the King's assent instead of to the approval of the Governors of a Commercial Company. In 1631 Virginia sent back the first collection of acts of a Royal Province ever transmitted to England for approval. By the end of the seventeenth century the routine of transmitting acts for the Royal approval had become fairly well established.<sup>2</sup> Certain

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<sup>1</sup>Keith. *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, 1908, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup>The best short account of the Royal Disallowance in all the American Colonies is an article on 'The Royal Disallowance,' published in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for October, 1914, by



of the charter colonies, however, like Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts were not actually required by the terms of their charters to send over their laws for approval, though this was sometimes done as a matter of course.

In 1684 Massachusetts lost her charter as the result of a long series of acts by which she had virtually assumed the powers and status of an independent commonwealth. In 1661 Massachusetts issued its famous Declaration of Rights by which she asserted her right to govern herself under her charter and protested against the restrictions of the navigation acts. Massachusetts had also excluded the Book of Common Prayer, restricted the franchise, laid the death penalty on religious opinions, coined money with her own seal and caused laws and writs to be drawn up in her own name. These are only a few of Massachusetts' many violations of the Royal Prerogative. Bearing these facts in mind the Andros régime, as far as Massachusetts was concerned, cannot be entirely blamed on 'Stuart Tyranny.'

By the settlement after the 'Glorious Revolution of 1688', Connecticut and Rhode Island were restored to the full enjoyment of their charter privileges. But owing to the past record of Massachusetts and to the fact that her charter had been annulled in 1684, it was obvious that she could not expect to enjoy her former liberties. A new charter was therefore given to Massachusetts in 1691<sup>3</sup> establishing her as a semi-royal province with a form of government midway between that of

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Professor Charles M. Andrews of Yale University. It was at Professor Andrews' suggestion that this short study of the Royal Disallowance in Massachusetts was first begun. A longer and more detailed study covering all the American Colonies is 'The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King-in-Council,' by E. B. Russell, Ph.D. Columbia University Studies; vol. XLIV, No. 2, 1915.

<sup>3</sup>It is interesting to note that the old colony of Plymouth, founded by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 (or ten years before the great Puritan emigration to Massachusetts Bay), was formally annexed to Massachusetts in 1691. Plymouth never obtained a Royal charter of incorporation and hence her fate. Maine was also annexed to Massachusetts at this time and did not become a separate state till under the Union in 1820 as a part of the famous 'Missouri Compromise.' Massachusetts, Plymouth and Maine were therefore all under one government in 1691.





an independent charter colony like Connecticut and that of a Royal province like Virginia.

It is with the period of Massachusetts' history beginning 1691, therefore, that we are especially interested in this study, since from this time on Massachusetts was legally required to send over her laws for the Royal Approval or Disallowance.

By 1692 the colonial Governors of all the Royal provinces (i.e. of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Maryland<sup>4</sup> and Virginia) and of the proprietary colony of Pennsylvania were instructed to transmit their laws to England for approval. There was often a great deal of irregularity and delay on the part of the colonial Governors in sending over the laws of their respective provinces. Indeed it sometimes occurred that the acts of a whole session were not sent over at all, as, for instance, the acts of the Massachusetts Assembly for the session of 1694-5.<sup>5</sup> Omissions of this kind were of comparatively rare occurrence and no satisfactory explanation can be given beyond the neglect of colonial Governors and the failure at the British end of the administration to insist on the observance of the rule. A good many years elapsed before the British Government finally adopted anything like a uniform method of dealing with colonial legislation. To trace a colonial bill through its various stages is an interesting but often a very intricate process, especially since a bill might take anywhere from a month to ten years, and even longer, before any definite decision was reached by the British authorities. But though the methods of the British colonial administration were often dilatory and inefficient, they were not merely perfunctory nor mechanical, and they were above all else eminently fair and judicial. It should be noted in this connection therefore what was the real policy of the Board of Trade from about 1702 to 1730. The three year limit (fixed by the Massachusetts charter as the period within which her laws could be disallowed by the Privy Council) did not begin to run until these laws were actually laid before the council. The Board of Trade took ad-

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<sup>4</sup>Maryland was of course a proprietary colony during the greater part of its history; but from 1690-1715 Maryland was a Royal province.

<sup>5</sup>Acts and Resolves Public and Private of the Province of Massachusetts. 10 vols., 1692-1775. See chap. ix, xx, xxviii, Session 1694-5.





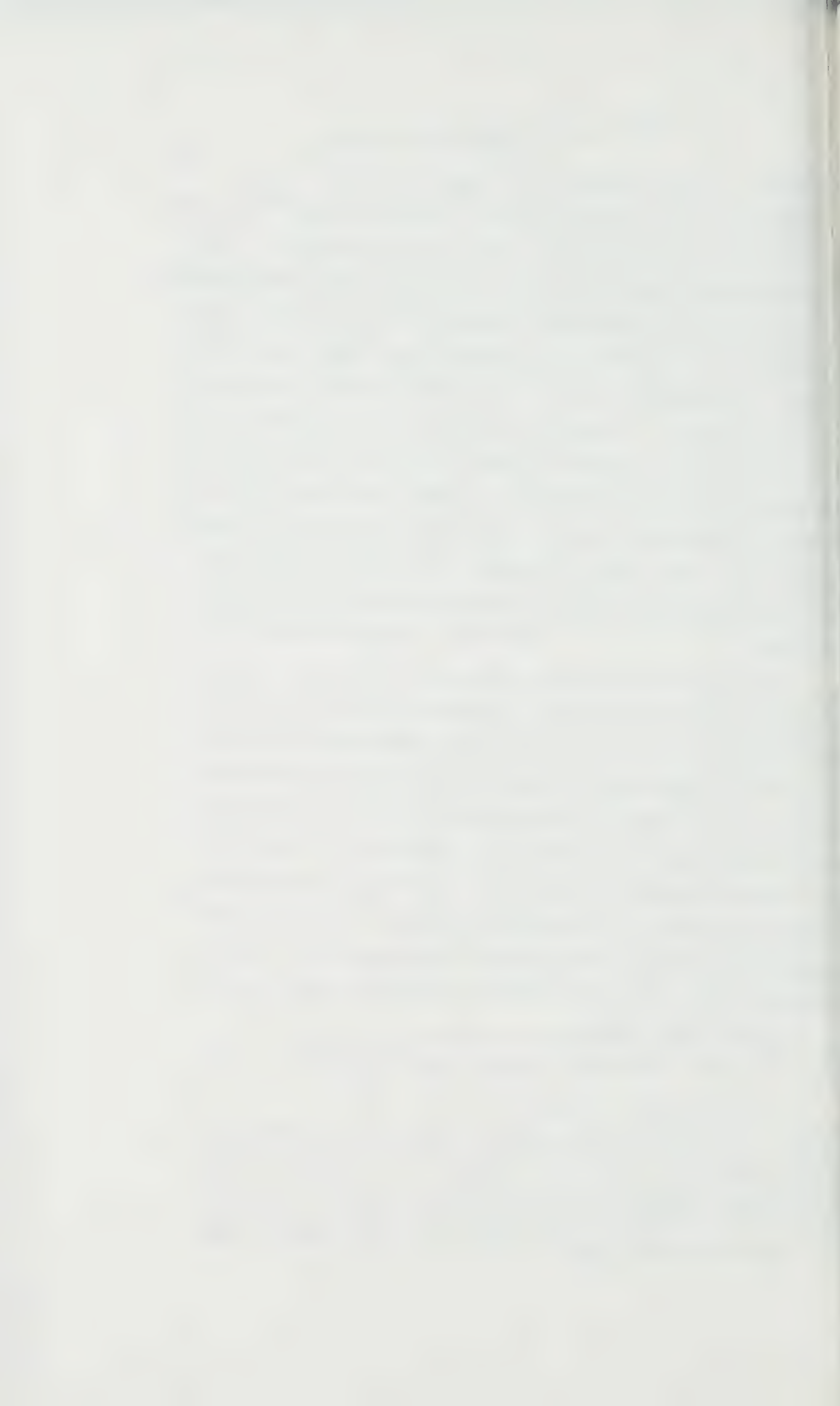
vantage of this restriction by withholding all colonial acts from the Privy Council until the effects of their operation should have been practically tested. If no complaint or objection was brought against any of these acts, and if they seemed to work satisfactorily, the act was allowed to continue in effect till repealed by the colonial Legislature. Therefore in tracing a colonial act through its various stages, the fact that no record of any action by the Privy Council exists, is not necessarily any evidence of crass negligence on the part of the British officials. It should be noted on the other hand that this policy of the Board of Trade was quite in keeping with the let-well-enough-alone policy of Walpole and Newcastle, and that the period from 1714 to 1728 was the period of greatest laxity of the Board of Trade.<sup>6</sup> For twenty-four years in succession Newcastle was the Secretary of State for the Southern Department which dealt with the colonies as well, and therefore absorbed many of the important functions of the Board of Trade.

However, the policy of the Board in allowing a colonial law to be probationary over an unlimited period either so that the success of its operation might be ascertained before sending it up to the Privy Council for confirmation or disallowance, or so that it might receive virtual confirmation through lapse of time, was no longer followed after 1730. From now on the Board was compelled to limit the probationary period to a definite term of two years, so that the number of colonial laws that received confirmation through lapse of time was greatly reduced. Moreover, all laws were required to be sent directly to the Privy Council which either in committee or as a whole submitted these acts to a preliminary reading before handing them over to the Board.

By about 1730, therefore, the following procedure in dealing with colonial legislation was generally adopted. First of

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<sup>6</sup>For a full account of the Board of Trade and Plantations, the changes in its personnel and powers from time to time, see *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*, by Professor O. M. Dickerson (Cleveland, Ohio, 1902). For the Colonial administration before 1696, see *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-75*, by C. M. Andrews, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 1908.



all, colonial acts were transmitted by the colonial Governor directly to the clerk-in-waiting of the Privy Council, though sometimes they were directed to the Secretary of the Board of Trade. Upon the receipt of the acts these officials duly delivered them to the Privy Council (or to a Committee of the Privy Council on Plantation affairs) for their perusal. The acts were then submitted to the Board of Trade for their official report and recommendations. The recommendations of the Board were usually accepted by the Privy Council but not necessarily. Opportunity was given at every stage for full discussion and deliberation. Often a colonial agent was called in and given a hearing before any matter of special importance was decided. The colonial agent representing Massachusetts was really chosen by the Massachusetts Assembly, who instructed him from time to time as to the course he should adopt. It would be an interesting problem to estimate the influence that colonial diplomacy in England exercised over the course of colonial legislation. There is no doubt but that this influence was often very considerable.<sup>7</sup>

Having briefly considered the method of dealing with colonial legislation, our next problem is to make an analysis of all the public and private acts disallowed by the Crown during the career of Massachusetts as a Royal province, i.e. from 1692 to 1775, a period of eighty-three years.<sup>8</sup> The number of acts disallowed for Massachusetts during this period is on the whole surprisingly small, as these were only 59 in all. Of this number 47 were public and 12 private acts. The distribution of these 59 disallowances over this period of eighty-three years is rather instructive, while the number of acts disallowed within certain periods and the reasons for their disallowance throws considerable light on the colonial policy of the time.

The 47 public acts will first be dealt with by an attempt to classify them according to the chief reasons for their disallowance. This scheme of classification is not always mutu-

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<sup>7</sup>See *Provincial America*, by E. B. Greene, *The American Nation*, vol. vi, p. 78, 1904; *The Provincial Governor*, by E. B. Greene, *Harvard Hist. Studies*, vol. vii, 1898.

<sup>8</sup>This analysis is based on the *Acts and Resolves Public and Private of the Province of Massachusetts*, 10 vols., 1692-1775.





ally exclusive, but in the main the reasons for disallowance fall under four definite heads:—

I. Colonial laws which were disallowed because they were contrary to the Laws of Navigation and Trade or were considered detrimental to English commerce and industry.

II. Laws repugnant to the Laws of England or that were not properly drawn up or were legally unsound.

III. Laws which disregarded the Royal Prerogative, or were contrary to the provisions of the Massachusetts Charter by which Massachusetts assumed unwarranted powers.

IV. Laws which in their operation might prove oppressive or harmful to either English or colonial subjects.

I. Massachusetts always had a somewhat unsavoury reputation in England for general insubordinacy which the troubles with Randolph and Andros had only served to exaggerate. The gravest charges urged against Massachusetts before she was deprived of her first charter and made a semi-royal province in 1692, were principally in regard to her violations of the laws of navigation and trade, and to her invincible opposition to any form of outside interference. It is not surprising to find therefore that eight of Massachusetts public acts were disallowed because they were contrary to the Laws of Navigation and Trade or were considered detrimental to English commerce and industry. The first two of these eight acts were repealed by the same order-in-council of Dec. 26, 1695. The first act<sup>9</sup> was passed by the Massachusetts General Assembly in 1693. When the Board of Trade came to consider this act, they called before them Mr. Brenton, the Collector and Surveyor of New England. His statement regarding the general effect of this act was incorporated in the representation of the Board to the Privy Council which recommended the disallowance of the act. The representation of the Board is worth noting because it throws light on local conditions in Massachusetts at this time, besides explaining the reason for the disallowance of the act. An extract from this document says: "The Port and Bay of Boston having more than a hun-

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<sup>9</sup>Chap. ix, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1693. Entitled 'An Act for coasting vessels within this Province.' Disallowed Dec., 1695.





dred sloops, shallops and lighters employed thereat, and by this privilege of lading to the quantity of six hogsheads of the enumerated commodities on each sloop without entry or clearing bond or certificate (as provided in the above act) it will not be difficult in a very little time thereby to load and unload any foreign ships of how great burthen so ever. Moreover, the Province of Narragansett Bay to Port Royal being about 300 leagues on ye sea coast in which space are contained some hundred harbours, creeks and coves." It was evidently the opinion of the Board that this act would afford too good opportunities for illicit trade, especially a further provision of the same act which "permitted the transportation of sugar and tobacco by land and water within the province on the *pretence* (as the Report puts it) of supplying the inhabitants only." This provision therefore of the act and the former clause which allowed a limited trade along the coast without any formal entry or clearing bond, were decided by the Privy Council "to be contrary to the usage and practice of the other Plantations and contrary to the acts of Navigation and Trade." It was therefore disallowed.

In the case of the second<sup>10</sup> of these two acts disallowed by the same order-in-council of Dec. 26, 1695, the reasons for disallowance are not so clearly expressed. If this act had been passed some time after 1700, it would probably not have been disallowed. But just at this time the policy of the Home Government was to make the trade regulations of the colonies conform absolutely to the English laws of Navigation and Trade. The representation of the Board of Trade to the Privy Council said in regard to this act: "But as the act for restraining the exportation of raw hides and skins. The said commodity not being enumerated in any of the laws of England for regulating and securing the Plantation Trade, are not properly under our cognizance. Yet for anything before us, we see not but what it may be a beneficial act and fit to be approved of, if it shall seem meet to His Majesty." Apparently

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<sup>10</sup>Chap. xix, Mass. Acts and Resolves 1692, entitled 'An Act to restrain the exportation of raw hides and skins out of the Province of Massachusetts Bay and for the better preservation and increase of deer in the said Province.'



His Majesty's Council were not disposed to give the act the benefit of the doubt nor to accept the recommendation of the Board. The act was therefore promptly disallowed on what was in reality a very trivial technicality.

The next act of Massachusetts to be disallowed because it came under our first classification was entitled 'An act for the regulating of the building of ships.'<sup>11</sup> The principal objection of the Board of Trade to this Act was that "it might lay an unnecessary restraint on the subject and tend to the obstruction of the building of ships." Another act <sup>12</sup> passed during the session of 1698 which was almost identical in its scope and purpose with the above act, was also disallowed. The act of 1698 contained a clause stating that the Province of Massachusetts desired some system of regulation and inspection such as existed in England. The Board of Trade, however, objected that this act was grounded on a mistaken opinion, because there was no such practice of regulation and inspection settled by law in England at this time. It is quite apparent that the technical objection to this act was not the real reason for its disallowance. It therefore properly comes under the first heading i.e. of those acts which were considered harmful to English trade and industry—in this special instance the ship-building industry of England. This fact is brought out in a report of the discussion on this act by the Board of Trade, in which we can get at the real reason for its disallowance. An extract from the Report of the Board said: "If this act be confirmed it would subject His Majestie's builders (in case it should here after be thought fit to build ships for His Majestie's service) to the inspection and control of overseers to be appointed by the Justices of Peace of that country. It would in like manner subject all merchants of England that may send thither to build ships for their own use to the same rule, which seems unto us inconveniences fit to be avoided."

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<sup>11</sup>Chap. xi, vol. I, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1693.

<sup>12</sup>Chapter xviii, vol. II, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1698. Entitled 'An Act for the regulating and inspecting of the building of ships.' Disallowed by order-in-council of Oct. 22nd, 1700.





The next Massachusetts act<sup>13</sup> to be disallowed because of its possible effect on English trade and commerce was passed during the same session as the last act. When this act was under the consideration of the Board, Mr. Brenton was again present. He stated as his objection to the act, "That several of the Ports to be established (by the act) have not one vessel belonging to them, nor have for several years past had any vessels unladen there except such as came privately and imported prohibited goods, and that two or three Ports are sufficient for that Province." The Board of Trade in this report to the Privy Council therefore recommended "That the establishing of so many ports in such inconsiderable places will not only occasion a greater charge in maintaining officers to attend them, but also be a great means to encourage and promote clandestine and illegal trade." There was also raised another objection to the act in point of law. A provision of the act stated, "that no other places besides those therein mentioned should be ports for lading or unlading ships trading to and from the province." It was the opinion of the legal advisors of the Crown that "this provision intrenched on the powers granted by Act of Charles II to the Lords of the Treasury" and that it was therefore "repugnant to the laws of England."

The next Massachusetts act to be considered under our first general heading was perhaps the most important of them all. This act was passed by the Massachusetts General Assembly during the sessions of 1718-19 and was entitled 'An Act for granting unto His Majesty's several rates and duties of import and tonnage of shipping.'<sup>14</sup> The unusual dispatch of the English administration in dealing with this measure gives some slight indication of its importance. The act was not sent to the Solicitor of the Board of Trade, Mr. West, but directly to the Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Carkesse, on Mar. 6th, 1719. On Mar. 14th Mr. Carkesse sent his official

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<sup>13</sup>Chap. xiv, vol. I, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1698, entitled "An Act for establishing of seaports within this province and for ascertaining the fees for entering and clearing of vessels inward and outward bound." Disallowed by order-in-council of Oct., 1700.

<sup>14</sup>Chap. xii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, session of 1718-19.





opinion to Mr. Wm. Popple, Secretary of the Board of Trade, which was embodied in the recommendation of the Board to the Privy Council, Apr. 24th. The recommendation of the Board<sup>15</sup> was accepted and on May 26th, 1719, an order-in-council was passed disallowing the act. The chief objection to the act was its downright violation of the Acts of Navigation and Trade, but above all its amazing proposition of laying a discriminating tax on all English goods as a direct discouragement to British trade. From the speech of Governor Shute to the Massachusetts Assembly on Nov 4th, 1719, it appears, however, that at the May sessions of the Assembly immediately following the passing of this act, the particularly offensive clause which laid a duty on all English goods and shipping had been repealed. But in the words of Governor Shute, "the more effectively to prevent our being guilty of so fatal an error in the future, I am expressly commanded to represent both to the Council and Assembly in the words

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<sup>15</sup>This document is so full of interest that I venture to quote it in part. Quoted in note to Chap. xii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, vol. II. "By Act of Trade no goods of the growth or manufacture of Europe can be imported to any plantation but from Great Britain excepting salt for fisheries, wines of the Madeira and Western Islands, *servants*, horses and provisions from Ireland, and also except Irish linens. Whereas this Act of Mass. Bay not only allows the importation of all sorts of wines and commodities directly from their place of growth but *charges the commodities with a double duty if imported from this Kingdom*, from where only can they legally be imported, except in the cases above mentioned. The Act likewise *lays a duty of one per cent. on all English merchandise; and as a further discouragement to British Trade and Navigation lays a duty of Tonnage on all shipping* except that of Massachusetts Bay and some few neighboring colonies. It is also further observable that the ship with her tackle, etc., is lyable to answer such penalties and forfeitures as the master shall incur by not observing the Act, which would be very unreasonable and a great hard ship on British and all other owners of shipping entitled to trade thither. . . . . This Act was but *very lately delivered to us and will have had its full effect before your Majesty's pleasure there on can be known in the Province*. However, considering that it is of so very extraordinary a nature, we humbly propose that your Majesty may declare your disapprobation thereof as being repugnant to the laws of the Kingdom by which the Plantations are and ought to be bound, and consequently illegal and void to all intents and purposes what so ever. And for as much as





following: "That as the power of making laws which was granted to this government by their late Majesties is restrained to the condition that such laws shall not be repugnant to the laws of Great Britain; they will do well to consider how far the breaking this condition and the laying of any discouragement on the shipping and manufactures of Great Britain may endanger the charter."<sup>16</sup> This, gentlemen, is a warning from the Throne, and I hope will prove a means to preserve us in our dutiful dependence on and subjection to the Crown and Government of Great Britain upon which (under God) the constitution and prosperity of this country entirely depends."

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this *Act seems designed to be an annual one*, we would propose that in case it shall have been re-enacted this year, before the Governor receive your Majesty's orders on this head, he be enjoined forth with to declare your Majesties disapprobation thereof and not to permit the said Act or any part of it to be put in execution. And to prevent so pernicious practise for the future we would further propose that your Majesties' Governor of Massachusetts Bay may have orders to represent to the Council and Assembly of that rovince that as the power of making laws granted to them by their charter by their late Majesties King William and Mary is restraining to the condition that such laws be not repugnant to the laws of England, *they will do well to consider how far the breaking of this condition and the laying of any discouragements on the shipping and manufactures of this Kingdom may endanger their charter*. We believe it necessary that at the same time the Governor himself should be put in mind of the obligations he is under by the oath he took before his entrance on the former government to put the *Laws of Navigation and Trade in due execution*, as well as by your Majesty's instructions to him Sept. 27th, 1717, not to pass any acts which may effect the trade and shipping of this Kingdom without a clause there in to be inserted declaring that *the said Act shall not be in force until the same shall be approved and confirmed by your Majesty, your Heirs and Successors*." This reference to a suspending clause, by which nothing in an Act should have force until the King's will had been expressed, is the first I have found among the Mass. Acts. In spite of the emphatic language employed here, as far as I have been able to find out, Mass. was *never guilty of obeying* this instruction.

<sup>16</sup>This is plainly taken directly from the recommendation of the Board of Trade of April, 1719 (see Note 15), speech of Gov. Shute, Council Records, vol. X, p. 457.





The last act<sup>17</sup> to be considered under the head of those harmful to English commerce and industry was passed during the Sessions of 1749-50 and was disallowed by order-in-council of June 30th, 1752. This act proposed to raise the Governor's salary by laying a duty on certain articles. The idea of taxing English trade to support an English Governor may have appealed to Massachusetts but it found no favourable response in England. It was objected by the legal advisor of the Crown, Mr. Lamb, "that the proposed excise would affect the trade of this Kingdom and at the same time run counter to the 16th article of the Governor's instructions regarding the support of the Governor." The act was therefore disallowed.

II. Under this second head are to be classified all Massachusetts laws disallowed because they were repugnant to the laws of England or because they were not properly drawn up or were legally unsound. A Massachusetts Act of 1698<sup>18</sup> has already been noted as being disallowed, not only because it was considered harmful to English trade but also because it was 'repugnant to the laws of England.'

The next act<sup>19</sup> to be considered under this second head was one of the most important of this group. This act represented the programme of the popular party in Massachusetts. It claimed for the Assembly the right to appoint all civil officers not particularly designated in the charter,<sup>20</sup> besides the complete control of all public expenditures. All official sala-

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<sup>17</sup>Chap. xxi, Mass. Acts and Resolves, vol. II, Session 1749-50. Entitled 'An Act for granting unto His Majesty an excise upon sundry articles here after enumerated for and towards the support of His Majesty's Government of this Province.' See also Chap. xi, 1692-3, Note 19.

<sup>18</sup>Chap. xiv, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1698. Entitled 'An Act for establishing of sea ports,' etc. See Note 13.

<sup>19</sup>Chap. xi, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1692-3. Entitled 'An Act setting forth general Privileges.'

<sup>20</sup>This was always the traditional view of Mass. towards her charter, i.e. to claim not only all rights and privileges expressed in her charter but also every power not expressly denied by it.





ries were to be fixed by the Assembly, and whenever revenue was to be raised, the Lower House was to be apprised of the purpose for which it was to be used. Moreover, this act provided that no money was to be expended except for certain definite objects to be specified by law. Except in the case of contingent charges every warrant was to indicate the specific service for which the money was used and the law by which it was authorized. The act also contained a clause by which 'bail should be taken in all cases *except* Treason and Felony plainly expressed in the warrant of commitment.' The legal advisors of the Crown immediately seized on this last clause as 'being repugnant to the laws of England,' and the whole act was therefore disallowed on a technicality in point of law by the order-in-council of Aug. 22nd, 1696. It is clear, however, that this was not the real objection to the act. The policy of the Home Government at this time (1692-3) was very definitely to keep the government of the colony as far as possible within the control of the Crown. But this act was designed by the popular party in Massachusetts to regain the privileges enjoyed by them under their old charter. As subsequent history shows, however, the disallowance of this act and of other acts, did not prevent the Massachusetts Assembly from carrying out substantially the policy indicated above. In the face of constant protests from the Governor and the Home Government the Assembly refused to make permanent provision for the civil list. The Governor's salary was voted only year by year; the provincial Treasurer was appointed by Act of Assembly and all expenditures were controlled by definite appropriations.

Closely related to the above act and disallowed by the same order-in-council was another act<sup>21</sup> of the same session which also represents the programme of the popular party in Massachusetts. This act was likewise disallowed on a legal technicality, but really because its popular tendencies were

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<sup>21</sup>Chap. xlii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1692-3. Entitled 'An Act for the better securing of the liberty of the subject and for the prevention of illegal imprisonment.' Disallowed by the order-in-council of Aug. 22nd, 1695.



distrusted by the somewhat reactionary Government after the Revolution of 1688.

Three acts<sup>22</sup> still remain to be dealt with which were also disallowed by the sweeping order-in-council of Aug. 22, 1695.<sup>23</sup> The first of these acts was entitled 'An act for punishing capital offenders.' There were three principal objections to this Act. First, that the articles in this act relating to Witch craft, Blasphemy, Incest and Slaying by Devilish practises were worded in too 'uncertain and doubtful' terms. Second, that these crimes were all to be punishable by death, as well as unpremeditated murder which was 'not conformable to the laws of England.' Third, that a clause in the act relating to Treason 'was not agreeable to statute law of England.' The second act against counterfeiting, clipping, filing or impairing of coins was disallowed, because it was 'thought fit that crimes should be punished as they were in England.' The third act against conjuration, witchcraft and dealing with evil spirits was also disallowed because it was not in accord with the statute law of England.

The next act<sup>24</sup> to be considered, while nominally disallowed as being repugnant to the laws of England, was really disallowed because it affected the enforcement of the Navigation Acts. Its disallowance represented an attempt of the English Government to back up their Vice-Admiralty Courts against the local Colonial Courts in dealing with all breaches of the laws of Navigation and Trade. The legal advisors of the Crown had immediately pounced on one particular clause of this act which seemed to afford a possible loophole for avoiding the penalties of the detested Navigation Acts. The official opinion of the Board of Trade was that "this Act, providing among other things that all matters and issues shall be tried by a jury of twelve men, has in that particular

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<sup>22</sup>Chap. xix; chap. xxxi; chap. xl, Mass. Acts and Resolves.

<sup>23</sup>By this important order-in-council of Aug., 1695, 35 Mass. Acts were confirmed and 15 disallowed.

<sup>24</sup>Chap. ix, Mass. Acts and Resolves, Session 1696. Entitled, 'An Act for establishing courts.' This was one of six other acts passed between 1695-97 and disallowed by the same order-in-council of Nov. 24th, 1698.





been looked upon to be directly contrary to the intention of the Act of Parliament<sup>25</sup> by which it is provided that all cases relating to the breach of the Acts of Trade may be tried in His Majesty's Plantation respectively where such offence shall be committed. Moreover, the method of trial in such Courts of Admiralty is not by juries of 12 men as is directed by the afore mentioned act for establishing courts.' It was perfectly obvious that no jury of 12 Massachusetts men would ever convict their neighbours of smuggling, or confiscate suspected goods in which they all might have a personal interest. The disallowance of the act was a foregone conclusion.

A group of six Massachusetts acts will next be considered under our second general head of acts not properly drawn up or legally unsound. These six acts<sup>26</sup> were disallowed because they all related to a former act which had been previously disallowed unknown to the Massachusetts Assembly. This act<sup>27</sup> proved to be a joker. It was passed in the first session of 1692-3 and was not disallowed till three years after by the sweeping order-in-council of August, 1695. In the meantime these six additional acts were passed, all depending on the original Act of 1692 regarding which the Massachusetts Assembly was not yet aware that the Home Government had any particular objection. These six acts would certainly not have been passed—and most certainly not disallowed—if the Colonial Legislature had known in time about the disallowance of the original Act of 1692. But in the nature of the case owing to time, distance and delay this was literally impossible.

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<sup>25</sup>Entitled 'An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade.'

<sup>26</sup>Chap. xi. Entitled 'An addition to the Act for establishing judicatories,' 1693-4; chap. xx, entitled 'An Act of supplement and addition to several acts of this province,' 1693-4; chap. xviii, 'An Act in further addition to an Act, etc. etc., 1694-5; chap. v, 'An Act for the Reviewing of Judicatories,' etc., 1695-6; chap. ix, 'An Act of supplemental and addition to several Acts,' etc., 1695-6; chap. xii, 'An Act for the establishment and regulation of Chancery,' 1693-4.

<sup>27</sup>Chap. xxxiii, Mass. Acts and Resolves. Entitled 'An Act for the establishing of Judicatories and Courts of Justice within this Province,' 1692-3. Disallowed by order-in-council of August, 1695.





Two other acts of the first session of 1692 were also disallowed because they were not properly drawn up and were legally unsound. The first of these two acts was entitled 'An Act for continuing Local Laws.'<sup>28</sup> Curiously enough this was the very first act entered in the Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay. It was disallowed because the acts to be continued were not particularly specified. The second of these acts<sup>29</sup> was entitled 'An Act for the reviving of an Act for continuing local laws, and another act for sending of soldiers to the relief of the neighboring Province and colonies.' This Act was passed during the November session of 1693 and (as the title indicates) included Chap. I mentioned above which had now expired. Both of the acts were disallowed in August, 1695. Regarding the disallowance of these two acts the Board of Trade stated that: "The practise of joining together diverse acts or clauses upon different subjects under the same title is a great irregularity and in some occasions may tend to the prejudice of the Province, where of we judge they will find an instance in the above act in which some of those additions might have been approved if they had been separately enacted."<sup>30</sup> After 1695, therefore, strict instructions were issued to the effect "that in any new law to be enacted, the law to be continued be therein expressed and particularly specified."

But the passing of Colonial Acts like Chapters I and XLIII mentioned above was open to another serious objection. For though these two acts were eventually disallowed in 1695, in the meantime they had effected their purpose and had expired. The Royal Disallowance and the claim to control Colonial legislation would be a farce if the practice of passing merely temporary laws were permitted to go on unchecked. The English Government therefore sent over some very definite instructions to the Governor of Massachusetts in regard to this question of temporary laws. "There is another undue practise grown also too common in the Association of Massa-

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<sup>28</sup>Chap. i, Mass. Acts and Resolves, Session 1692-3. Disallowed by order-in-council of August, 1695.

<sup>29</sup>Chap. xliii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, Session 1693. Disallowed by order-in-council of August, 1695.

<sup>30</sup>Letter of Board of Trade to Governor Bellomont, Dec. 26th, 1695.



chusetts Bay which is the making of several laws temporary and renewing the same from time to time. . . . It is His Majesty's express will and pleasure, that all laws whatsoever for the good government and support of the said colony be made indefinite and without limitations of time except the same be for a temporary end and which shall expire and have its effect within a certain time, and therefore you shall not enact any law which shall have been once enacted by you except upon very urgent occasions, but in no case more than once without His Majesty's express consent. And as we observe the same method to grow too much in use in the Province of Massachusetts Bay we cannot but recommend the observation of the foregoing instruction to your Lordship's care."<sup>31</sup> Despite the many practical difficulties of carrying out these instructions, they were made even stricter by further instructions to all the Provincial Governors which directed them, in the case of all acts relating to important matters of Trade or Imperial interest, to insert a Suspending Clause, declaring that the said act should not go into force until the same should be approved and confirmed by His Majesty. Though very definite instructions were given regarding a suspending clause, as far as I know Massachusetts was never guilty of complying with this order. On the other hand, there are three quite clear instances where Massachusetts Acts were disallowed because they did not contain the offensive suspending clause. The first of these acts<sup>32</sup> was disallowed on two counts, inasmuch as it violated the orders of both sets of instructions mentioned above, first as regards the passing of temporary acts, and second as regards the inclusion of a suspending clause. The first clause of this act, it was objected by the Board, was a temporary law and was expired, but that upon the expiration of the said clause it was revived again and was then in force, which entirely destroyed the reasons given for the law. The second objection was owing to the fact that this

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<sup>31</sup>Letter of Board of Trade to Gov. Bellomont, Dec. 26, 1695.

<sup>32</sup>Chap. xvi, Mass. Acts and Resolves, Session 1730-31. Entitled 'An Act in addition to an Act for ascertaining the members and regulating the House of Representatives.' Disallowed by order-in-council, Jan. 10, 1734.





as contained no clause for suspending its taking effect until His Majesty's pleasure should be declared.

The next of these three acts was passed seven years later. This act<sup>33</sup> contained a clause which increased the number of Representatives in the Massachusetts Assembly. This was, however, regarded by the Home Government as a question affecting Imperial control, and in 1743 definite instructions had been issued by the Privy Council to Governor Shirley forbidding him to give his assent to any act which would tend to increase the number of Representatives in the Assembly without a clause therein inserted suspending the execution of such act until it should receive the Royal assent. The same instructions had been continued to Thomas Pownall who was Governor of Massachusetts at this time. Thomas Hutchinson<sup>34</sup> who was to be the next Governor of Massachusetts in 1760, strenuously opposed this act in the Council and was probably very influential in having it disallowed. His main objections to the act were "that the increasing the number of Representatives would retard the proceedings of the General Court, would increase the burden which now lies on the people by their long session every year, and would give the General Assembly an undue proportion to the Board in the Legislature." The objections raised by Thomas Hutchinson were substantially the same as given by the Board of Trade in their representation to the Privy Council. For the above reasons and because it had no suspending clause the act was disallowed.<sup>35</sup>

The last of the three Massachusetts Acts that I have found to have been disallowed because of the omission of a suspending clause was passed in 1765 during the Governorship

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<sup>33</sup>Chap. i, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1757-8. Entitled 'An Act for erecting the district of Danvers into a Township by the name of Danvers.' Disallowed by order-in-council, Aug. 10, 1759.

<sup>34</sup>History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1749-1774, by Thos. Hutchinson, 1828; Lieutenant-Governor in 1760 and again in 1769, Governor 1771-1774.

<sup>35</sup>The question of Representation in the colonies was a vital one. The point of view of England at this time was so hopelessly at variance with the Colonial point of view that a conflict was inevitable. For a short but interesting discussion of this topic see Students History of the United States, by Edward Channing, pp. 140-144.





of Francis Bernard. The circumstances under which this act<sup>36</sup> was passed were somewhat complicated. This was the year, it will be recalled, of the memorable Stamp Act Congress and the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country were daily becoming more strained. This also appears to have been a period of financial depression in the colonies. Many colonial merchants were very heavily in debt to their English creditors and some had tried to repudiate their obligations. Hence the passing of the two acts for the preventing of frauds, etc., referred to in the Act of 1765 (chap. v). However, the Massachusetts merchants had found the working of these two acts for the preventing of frauds, etc., so unsatisfactory that the Act of 1765 had been passed repealing them both. At first Governor Bernard had opposed the repeal of these two acts. He maintained that they ought to be amended rather than repealed, since it would be a greater inconvenience and abuse to repeal these two acts without fair warning especially to British creditors who were relying on their operation, than to continue them in an amended form. Considerable pressure was brought to bear on Governor Bernard by the Massachusetts Assembly, and at last in September 1765, he gave his consent to the repeal of the two acts on the ground that sufficient warning had by now been given to all creditors. The Board of Trade, however, was quite unfavourable to the repeal of these two acts by the Act of 1765. The Board had hoped that some "provision in cases of insolvency might have been made in this, as in most other colonies, a permanent part of the constitution."<sup>37</sup> It was therefore the opinion of the Home Government that these two acts were "essential to public credit and to the security of the foreign creditor," and that the action of Governor Bernard in giving his assent to the Act of 1765 was entirely unwarranted, since he had taken

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<sup>36</sup>Chap. v, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1765-6. Entitled 'An Act for repealing two Acts, one entitled an Act for preventing fraud in debtors and securing the effects of insolvent debtors for the benefit of their creditors, and the other entitled an Act in addition to an act for preventing fraud in debtors,' etc. Disallowed by order-in-council July 24, 1767.

<sup>37</sup>From Report of Board of Trade, June 28th, 1767.



this important step "upon a general suggestion of inconvenience unaccompanied with any representation of what that inconvenience was, or without any clause *suspending the execution of this act* until His Majesty's pleasure could be known." The act was therefore disallowed by order-in-council, July, 1767.

In order to complete the list of acts coming under this second general heading two more remain to be mentioned. The first of these acts was passed in 1698 and was entitled 'An act for establishing precedents and writs.' The act was disallowed in 1700 on the advice of the Solicitor General because in his opinion "the conditions of the act were incongruous and unreasonable," and that therefore it was legally unsound. The last of these two acts was passed in 1757 and also referred to the question of the collection of debts. A number of English merchants were given a hearing before the Board in regard to this act. It was the opinion of the Board that the act as drawn up did not serve its purpose. It was therefore disallowed, July, 1758.

III. Under this third head are to be classified all Massachusetts laws disallowed because they disregarded the Royal prerogative or were contrary to the terms of the Massachusetts charter by which the colony assumed unwarranted powers. In the light of Massachusetts history prior to becoming a Royal province in 1692 and of the definite policy of the Home Government at this time to bring the colonies into closer dependence on the Crown, we are quite prepared to find a number of Massachusetts acts disallowed for the above reasons. The period after 1692 was a period of adjustment for Massachusetts and hence we find that five of these acts occurred within the first seven years of Royal control.

The first of these was 'An act for the incorporation of Harvard College at Cambridge, New England'.<sup>38</sup> The act was disallowed because it "reserved no power of the King to appoint a visitor for the better regulating of the college which power should be reserved to the King and Governor". The Board of

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<sup>38</sup>Chapter x, Mass. Acts and Resolves, vol. I. Disallowed order-in-council of Aug. 22, 1695.





Trade when notifying the Governor of the disallowance of this act, intimated that the General Assembly might renew the same act only with "a power of visitation reserved to his Majesty and the Governor or Commander-in-chief of that province". Two years after this act had been disallowed a second act<sup>39</sup> for the incorporation of Harvard was passed but still it did not comply with the necessary regulation of a visitor appointed by the King or his representative. Instead this act provided that the power of visitation was to be vested in the King or his representative *together with* the council of the province for the time being which, as the Board complained, "was very different from what was proposed to them to be observed". This second act was therefore disallowed because it did not recognize the Prerogative of the Crown and had not been formed according to His Majesty's former order-in-council. However, Massachusetts legislators managed to carry their point and still not formally recognize the Royal right of visitation. They passed a short resolution in 1707 declaring the old charter to be still in force, thus avoiding all risk of a third objection. This came to be the usual method by which Massachusetts contrived to avoid a direct clash with the home authorities and still to get her own way. No doubt many more of her acts would have been disallowed but for this scheme of adopting as resolutions what as legislative acts would have eventually reached the home authorities only to be negatived.

The next act<sup>40</sup> to be noticed, like the preceeding act, was also disallowed because of its omission to recognize the prerogative of the Crown in regard to appointments. The purpose of the act was to erect a naval office in the province. The powers and directions given to the naval officer, had by a previous Act of Parliament, been reserved to such officer or officers as should be appointed by the Commissioneers of His Majesty's Customs. By the provisions of this colonial act these powers were to be delegated to the Provincial Governor. The act was therefore disallowed Aug. 22nd, 1695.

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<sup>39</sup>Chap. x, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1697. Disallowed order-in-council, November, 1698.

<sup>40</sup>Chap. vi, Mass. Acts and Resolves. Entitled 'An Act for erecting a naval office.'





The next three acts<sup>41</sup> to be considered were all passed by the first Massachusetts Assembly under Royal control, and were all disallowed in Aug. 1695, because of their failure to recognize the prerogative of the Crown. The first of these acts was disallowed because "by ye act no provision is made for the saving of His Majesty's right, ye said act is repealed." The Privy Council also advised that "in the framing of a new act to the same effect a clause may be inserted for saving the rights of the crown". A further objection was also made against the act in point of law. It was thought by the attorney and solicitor general that the term of three years possession proposed by the said act was too short for the confirmation of titles and in a new draft of the act, ought to be extended.

The last two of these three acts of 1692 were both disallowed, so that in the framing of two new acts clauses might be inserted in each whereby the debts due the Crown should be preferred to all others.

The next act<sup>42</sup> to be noted was considered by the Board of Trade to infringe on the Royal patents granted to the Post Master General of His Majesty's Dominions. It was also thought to be inconsistent with the Royal patent granted to Thomas Neale, Esq., for the Post Office in America. It was therefore disallowed.

The next act<sup>43</sup> to be disallowed because of its disregard for the prerogative of the Crown, came at a very critical period in Colonial history. The reason for disallowance, as stated by Mr. Jackson (Solicitor of the Board), was because the Act placed certain powers of granting licenses in the hands of the select men of the towns, "when it is more fit that such power

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<sup>41</sup>Chap. xii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, Session 1692. Entitled 'An Act for Quieting of possessions and settling of Titles.'

Chap. xvi. 'An Act for the equal distribution of insolvent debtors.'

Chap. xxix. 'An Act for making land and tenements liable to payment of debts.'

<sup>42</sup>Chap. iii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, Session 1693. Entitled 'An Act for encouraging the Post Office.' Disallowed order-in-council, Nov., 1696.

<sup>43</sup>Chap. xlv, Mass. Acts and Resolves, Session 1773. Entitled 'An Act to regulate the sale of goods at Public Vendue and to limit the number of auctioneers.' See also note 34 and 35.



should be entrusted to His Majesty's Governor by whom it is more likely to be impartially administered". Governor Hutchinson in an interesting letter of Mar. 26th, 1773 to the Lords of Trade said: "Any permanent additional powers to the select men of towns I conceive cannot be for His Majesty's service or for the true interest of the province." The disallowance of this act in Apr. 1774 represents one of the many fruitless attempts on the part of home Government to check the encroachments of the popular municipal governments on the prerogatives of the crown.

Another reason for disallowance which we have grouped under our third head, was in the case of laws contrary to the provisions of the Massachusetts charter by which Massachusetts assumed unwarranted powers. An act<sup>44</sup> of the first Massachusetts Assembly of 1692 comes under this head. The only reason I can discover for its disallowance is a short extract from a letter of the Privy Council. This letter is very ambiguously worded and no real reason is given beyond the inference that a certain clause in the act referring to the appointing of inferior courts and justices of peace was contrary to the conditions of the Massachusetts charter of 1691.

The next act<sup>45</sup> to be considered was also passed in 1692. It was disallowed because it altered the qualifications of freeholders as laid down in the charter from £50 to £40. This was not an attempt to make their charter more liberal, but was due to an error in the duplicate copy of the charter which had been sent over to the province. In the provincial copy of the charter the property qualifications had been wrongly copied from the original as being 40 instead of 50 pounds.

Among the acts of the first session there was still another act to be disallowed because it was inconsistent with the terms of the new Massachusetts charter. A clause in this act<sup>46</sup> pro-

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<sup>44</sup>Chap. ix, Mass. Acts and Resolves, Session 1692. Entitled 'An Act for holding Courts of Justice.' Disallowed by order-in-council, August, 1695.

<sup>45</sup>Chap. xxx. Entitled 'An Act for establishing præcedents and formes of writts within the Province.'

<sup>46</sup>Chap. xxxiii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1692-3. 'An Act for the establishing of Judicatories and Courts of Justice within this Province.' Disallowed order-in-council, Aug. 22, 1695. See Note 26.





ided that if either party in a colonial law suit was not satisfied with the judgment of any of the Colonial Courts "in a *personal action and none other* where the difference did not exceed 100£, they might appeal to His Majesty in Council." It was objected by the legal advisor of the Crown that the reservation expressed in the words "*and none other*" excluded all appeals to the King-in-council, in "*reall actions*." The act was therefore disallowed. First, because this proviso was not in the words of the charter; and second, because this act would restrict the freedom of appeal to the King-in-council as laid down in the charter. No doubt the Home Government was of the opinion that the right of appeal to the King-in-council not only was a guarantee of the rights of her subjects in America but also was a useful device for maintaining her Imperial connection with the colonies. As it actually worked out, however, the freedom of appeal to the King-in-council was a privilege of rather doubtful value from the colonial standpoint. It was found to be a very lengthy and excessively costly process in which redress was not always certain. It was the opinion of Thomas Pownall,<sup>47</sup> one of the keenest governors that England ever had in Massachusetts, that the only solution to the problem would be to establish in America a Supreme Court of appeal for all the colonies. The difficulty of communication between England and America was in itself an almost insuperable obstacle to establishing a Court of Appeal in England, while, as Pownall pointed out, the very remoteness of such a court made its decisions seem all the more arbitrary.

The last two acts still remaining to be dealt with under this third general head, occur towards the end of British administration in America. The first of these two acts was passed by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1765 and was entitled 'An act for granting compensation to the sufferers, and free and general pardon, indemnity and oblivion to the offenders in the late Times.'<sup>48</sup> The 'late times' referred to was the riot that occurred in Boston after the attempt to enforce the Stamp

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<sup>47</sup>The Administration of the Colonies by Thomas Pownall, 1768; Governor of Massachusetts 1757-1760.

<sup>48</sup>Chap. x, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1675. Disallowed order-in-council, May 16, 1767.





Act of 1765. It was the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General of the Crown in regard to this colonial act of general pardon that it was a distinct encroachment on the prerogative of the Crown as defined in the provisions of the charter of Massachusetts. According to the constitution of the province—it was objected—the Council and Assembly of Massachusetts did *not* possess any original right to enact a law of general pardon without previous communication of the grace and pleasure of the Crown. The act was therefore disallowed in 1767.

The second of these two acts has at least this much of interest, it was the last public act of the Massachusetts Assembly ever disallowed by the English government. This act<sup>49</sup> was passed during the sessions of Mar. 1773; but there was nothing in the act (which related to the taking of fish) of any political significance. It was disallowed on the advice of the Attorney and Solicitor General who gave as his opinion that "the import of this act was inconsistent with that part of the charter of the province which provides that no subject of England shall be debarred from fishing on the coast, creeks or salt water rivers."

IV. The acts to be considered under this fourth general head, are those which were disallowed because they might prove oppressive or harmful in their operation to either English or Colonial subjects.

The first act<sup>50</sup> to be considered under this head dealt with the question of law suits. The act provided that no stranger (i.e. any person who had not been a resident of the province for three years) could have the liberty of commencing suit against any inhabitant without giving security for eighteen months. But the time for which security had to be given was so long that this act would have made it almost impossible for a non-resident to obtain an action against a resident of the

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<sup>49</sup>Chap. xlvii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1773. 'An Act to empower the inhabitants of the Town of Rochester in the county of Plymouth to regulate the taking of fish within the harbours and coves of said Township.' Disallowed June 1, 1774.

<sup>50</sup>Chap. xii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1695-6. 'An Act that all persons not being freeholders or settled inhabitants commencing suit shall give security before process is granted.' Disallowed Nov. 24th, 1698.



province. This was substantially the objection of the English administration. In referring to this particular provision the Board of Trade in their report to the Privy Council said: "It appears to us very partially favourable to the inhabitants of the province and injurious to all strangers". The act was therefore disallowed.

The next two acts to be considered under this fourth head were both passed during the sessions of 1699-1700. By the provisions of the first act<sup>51</sup> liberty was given for three trials in the provincial court before sentence or judgment in any case could be final or conclusive. It also made the curious provision that between each of those trials there was to be allowed a liberty of 3 years suspense. But the opinion of the Board of Trade in reference to this provision was: "That the so oft renewing of trials there in the same case and the long suspense before any final issue and determination can be had, is dilatory and vexatious". The English administration was always on the alert to safeguard the interests of their merchants in the colonies as the disallowance of the previous act (Chap. XII) also testifies. The Privy Council accepted the opinion of the Board and this act was also disallowed.

The second of these two acts passed during the sessions of 1699-1700 was entitled 'An act for the better preventing of infectious sickness'.<sup>52</sup> This act was open to several objections. In the first place the board thought that the penalties for the enforcement of this act were too severe. Again it was objected that the interpretation that might be placed on the terms 'contagious', 'epidemic' and 'prevailing sickness' as used in the terms of the act, was 'too uncertain and capable of great abuse'. Finally it was objected that there was "no such act as this in any other of His Majesty's plantations". The act was therefore disallowed.

The next three acts to be noted under our fourth general head were the only acts to be disallowed on a petition to the home government.

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<sup>51</sup>Chap. iv, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1699-1700. 'An Act for regulating and directing the proceedings of Courts of Justice established within the province.' Disallowed Oct. 22, 1700.

<sup>52</sup>Chap. vii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1699-1700. Disallowed Oct. 22, 1700.





The first of these three acts was 'An act for the better regulating the culling of fish'.<sup>53</sup> Three English merchants presented a petition to the Board on behalf of themselves and several other merchants trading to New England requesting that this act be disallowed. Mr. Dummer, the colonial agent for Massachusetts, was present at the meeting of the Board as well as the three English merchants. Both sides were given a hearing and fair consideration. Mr. Dummer speaking for the act explained that its purpose was to advance the quality of fish as the inspection of pitch, tar and turpentine had done for those commodities. However, the spokesman for the English merchants, Mr. Storke, objected that since the 'sworn cullers' provided by the act, were dependent on the merchants who sold fish or were in the business for themselves, they often showed great partiality for their own interests, nor were they always particular as to the quality of fish they allowed to be exported. To prove his contention that the act instead of improving the quality of fish had done the very reverse, letters from merchants in Oporto were produced affirming the poor quality of fish shipped there from Massachusetts. The Board was finally convinced therefore that this method of regulation was prone to abuse, besides being manifestly unfair to many merchants, who according to this law, were subject to a penalty unless all their fish was culled by a 'sworn culler.' The act was therefore disallowed. The second act<sup>54</sup> to be disallowed on petition to the home government was but one incident in a series of efforts to secure complete religious liberty in the province of Massachusetts. On the passing of this act in 1722 a great number of petitions had been sent to Governor Shute and to the General Court asking for its repeal. But as none of the efforts to have the act repealed by the colonial authorities were successful, the aggrieved parties finally turned to the Home Government, and numerous petitions were sent over asking for the disallowance of the act. The injustice of the act consisted in the fact that the people of Tiverton and Dartmouth considered themselves to have been unfairly assessed. They

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<sup>53</sup>Chap. iv, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1718-19. Disallowed, May 7, 1721.

<sup>54</sup>Chap. viii, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1722. 'An Act for apportioning and assessing 6232£, 13s, 11d.' Disallowed Jan. 2, 1724.





claimed that by this act their taxes had been increased by 100£ over the assessment of the previous year. This increased assessment, they claimed, was for the support of the Presbyterian clergy in Tiverton, Dartmouth and New Bristol. Several Quakers had been committed to the common gaol at New Bristol because they had refused to pay their taxes. A petition was sent to the Privy Council praying for the release of those Quakers who were then in gaol. Other petitions were also sent asking for the disallowance of the act. The act was carefully considered by the legal advisor of the Crown, Mr. West, who reported that legally the act was quite sound and that therefore he had no objection to it. However the Board of Trade was of the opinion that this act was really an unjust one, since the Presbyterian element having the ascendancy in the Assembly had assumed to themselves the authority of an established church, and had attempted to compel the Quakers in the towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton, who were infinitely in the majority, to pay a large maintenance to the Presbyterian ministers. Moreover, while this act did not violate the letter of the Massachusetts charter, yet the Board was of the opinion that the spirit of the charter had been violated in respect to freedom of conscience; since according to the charter granted to Massachusetts the foundation of the colony was laid on absolute and free conscience. The Privy Council recognized the essential justice of this position by disallowing the act and by ordering the release of those who had been imprisoned for their refusal to pay their taxes. The repeal of this act was an important victory for the friends of religious liberty in Massachusetts and established a valuable precedent.

The third and last act<sup>55</sup> to be disallowed on petition to the Home Government was very similar to the preceding act and a part of the same movement for complete religious liberty. On May 22nd, 1771, a memorial drawn up by Dr. Stenett was read before the Board praying their Lordships "to disallow an act passed in the province of Massachusetts Bay by which Antipedit Baptists<sup>56</sup> and Quakers were compelled to pay for the support

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<sup>55</sup>Chap. v, Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1768. 'An Act for erecting a new Plantation called Huntingdon in the County of Hamshire, into a town by the name of Ashfield.' Disallowed, 1771.

<sup>56</sup>Anabaptists—a sect of Baptists opposed to child baptism.





of a minister of a different persuasion". The Board after taking this act into consideration ordered that a representation be drawn up recommending its disallowance. This was accomplished by order-in-council of 1771. This completes the list of forty-seven public acts that were disallowed.

Turning next to the private acts that were disallowed during this period, there is not much to be said, because only 12 private acts in all were refused the Royal assent and the information regarding them is very scant. In the Governor's instructions of 1724-5 we find that they were forbidden to give their assent to any private act unless proof should have been made that the public notice of the parties intention to apply for such an act had been given, and unless the act contained a suspending clause. No private acts were passed from the date of these Royal instructions till 1742—a period of eighteen years. In 1742, however, a private act to take off the entail from certain lands in Ipswich was disallowed. Between 1757-1768 there were twelve private acts passed of which number five were disallowed. From 1768 down to the close of the colonial period only three private acts were passed, though none of these were disallowed. In all only twelve private acts were disallowed. As for the reasons for their disallowance scarcely any record appears to exist. The only specific reason for disallowance, that I have noted, is in connection with two private acts passed in 1757-8. These were disallowed because they bore no memorandum of publication and were not under seal.

This completes our task of analysing the 59 public and private acts disallowed by the English Crown during this eighty-three years of Massachusetts history as a Royal province. Out of the total forty-seven public acts, eight were disallowed because they were contrary to the acts of navigation and trade. But Massachusetts traders knew of ways to evade those laws far more effective than the passing of legislative acts. Six acts were disallowed very necessarily and justly because they might in their operation prove oppressive or harmful to either English or Colonial subjects. Thirteen were disallowed because they disregarded the Royal prerogative or were contrary to the provisions of the Massachusetts charter. Twenty, or nearly half of the total number of public acts, were disallowed because they were repugnant to the laws of England, or were





not properly drawn up, or were legally unsound. On the other hand, considering that over 70% of all the laws disallowed for Massachusetts come between 1691-1707, a period of fifteen years, it is not surprising to find so many disallowed for the last mentioned reasons. The period after 1691 was necessarily a period of adjustment for Massachusetts and for the Home Government. The old charter privileges and former freedom of Massachusetts were not easily supplanted. These first fifteen years, therefore, represent the efforts of the Massachusetts Legislature to adjust their methods and measures to the new conditions imposed on them as a semi-royal colony. It must also be taken into account that the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the passing of the Bill of Rights had profoundly stirred the American colonies. For instance, in Chapters XI and CLII<sup>57</sup> of that first session of the Massachusetts Assembly under direct Royal control we see the attempts of the English colonial to establish definitely by legislative enactment those rights and privileges that Englishmen had gained for themselves in the motherland. But after this great outbreak of popular feeling there was naturally enough a strong reaction which left a very definite impression on colonial policy and is quite evident in the vigorous exercise of the Royal disallowance during these first fifteen years of Royal control in Massachusetts. It was the definite policy of the Home Government to bring all the American colonies into closer dependence on the English Crown. The creation of a new Board of Trade and Plantations by William III in 1696 was a part of this definite policy looking towards closer control and greater efficiency in colonial Administration. It is not mere chance, therefore, that the period of the Board of Trade's greatest efficiency and usefulness—i.e. from 1696 to about 1714—was the period when Massachusetts legislation was most closely watched, and when the most serious efforts were made to keep colonial legislation in harmony with English laws and with the rights of the English Crown.

From 1714 down to 1748, the time of Walpole and Newcastle, was the period of greatest inefficiency and slackness in colonial administration when the Board of Trade only met on

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<sup>57</sup>See Note 19 and 21 for scope and discussion re reasons for disallowance.





an average about ten times a month instead of on an average of about five times a week as formerly. The secretary of State for the Southern Department now took over the direction of colonial affairs instead of the Board of Trade which was degraded to the position of a mere advisory body with no executive powers. But the ignorance and incapacity of Newcastle as the executive head of colonial affairs was colossal. "Annapolis, Annapolis! Oh yes! Annapolis must be defended," he is reported to have said. "To be sure, Annapolis should be defended. Where is Annapolis?"<sup>58</sup> Under these conditions it was quite natural that colonial affairs were allowed to drift as they would and that between 1714 and 1748 only four Massachusetts acts in all were disallowed.

From 1748 down to 1766 the powers and efficiency of the Board of Trade were revived under the able presidency of men like Halifax, Townshend and Shelburne. One of the most fatal errors ever made in British Colonial Administration was that in 1757 the Board of Trade and Plantations was not created as a separate department with Halifax as secretary of State for the colonies. Pitt, I believe, was responsible for that mistake. In the first place he was unwilling to part with any of his powers by creating a third Secretary of State.<sup>59</sup> He also failed to realize that the problems of colonial administration and government was of just as much importance in safeguarding English interests in America as the problem of wresting Canada from the French. He therefore threw a sop to Halifax's legitimate ambition to be a third Secretary of State by admitting him as a member to his cabinet. The position of the president of the Board of Trade as a Cabinet Minister greatly increased the prestige and efficiency of the Board which was also maintained during the short terms of Townshend and Shelburne. During this period of increased executive power we find a corresponding tightening up of control over colonial affairs which

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<sup>58</sup>H. Walpole. *Memoirs of the last ten years of George II.* Quoted in Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*.

<sup>59</sup>"Lord Halifax had often and lately been promised to be erected into a Secretary of State for the West Indies. Mr. Pitt says: No, I will not part with so much power." Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*. Letter of June 20, 1757.



evident in Massachusetts legislation. Between 1748 and 1768 over eleven Massachusetts acts were disallowed.

By order-in-council of 1766 the Board of Trade was again degraded to a mere advisory body and shorn of its executive and constructive powers. From 1768 down to the end of the colonial period only two acts were disallowed for Massachusetts. It must be added, however, that the general slackness of the British Administration from 1714 to 1748 and again from 1766 down to the end of the colonial period does not entirely explain the comparatively few disallowances that occur in those periods. After a number of years of Royal control Massachusetts began to adapt herself to the new restrictions, and so successfully that the Home Government never really realized that the affairs of the colony were gradually drifting beyond its control. At first, Massachusetts adopted the plan of passing acts for a limited time so that they would have had their effect before they could be disallowed by the Home Government. To check this the Governors were instructed to insert a suspending clause in bills that might affect Imperial interests, so that they should not go into effect until the Royal approval had been given. We have noticed that Massachusetts successfully avoided this device, though three of her acts<sup>60</sup> were clearly disallowed because they contained no suspending clause. However, Massachusetts finally evolved a much shrewder method of avoiding a direct clash with the Home authorities and at the same time of getting her own way, namely by passing as resolves what as legislative acts would have virtually gone to the Home Government only perhaps to be disallowed. When it is remembered that for Canada seventy provincial acts were disallowed between 1867 and 1890, a period of twenty-three years, the number of public acts disallowed for Massachusetts—only forty-seven in a period of eighty-three years—seems amazingly small. To talk about 'British oppression' in the matter of Imperial control over Massachusetts legislation is manifestly absurd. Apparently it was not a question of excessive control but of spasmodic and inefficient control. In 1757 Pitt had only had a truer vision of the real problem in America, if England's sense of government had only kept

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<sup>60</sup>See Chap xvi, 1730-31, note 32; chap. i, 1757-8, note 33; chap. v, 1763, note 36.





pace with her wonderful expansion, there might have been a different story to tell. The fact was that England had been too much engrossed in her political tilts at home and in her battles on land and sea abroad, which laid the basis of a future Colonial Empire, to realize that her Colonial Empire in America was slowly but surely slipping away from under her control. In 1757 it would not, I believe, have been too late to have remedied this by the creation of an intelligent and efficient Colonial Office as a separate department of government. By 1774 repression, rather than intelligent direction, was England's only resource, and the golden opportunity to retrieve the mistakes of the past was forever gone.

A. G. DORLAND.





## CURRENT EVENTS.

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### *President Wilson's Diplomacy.*

"For those who have a free choice in the matter and whose fortunes are not at stake, war is the geatest of follies." S, Thucydides tells us, Pericles spoke to the Athenians, and his words have a ready echo in the connon sense of men. A feeling of this kind naturally found pretty general expression in American utterances at the beginning of this war. The American community like English speaking peoples in general had had little or no preparatory education as to the nature and causes of the great outbreak. The publicists and professors of Germany had for a generation been training their people intellectually for the conflict, and those of Sweden, Russia, Finland, Norway and the Slavic nationalities had kept their countrymen well informed on every aspect of the situation. But in America as in Britain a large proportion of the intellectual and scientific classes were German in their cultural sympathies and inclined to shut their eyes to the political significance and designs of the country of Harnack and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. The only English professor, Prof. James Camb, who made any attempt to reveal the modern German psychologically to his countrymen had not the slightest attention paid to him and died before the war broke out without having any reason to think that his warnings had had any effect. The academic crowd, if they wrote at all, wrote—with one eye hopefully fixed on pacifist and radical ministers bearing gifts—on the other side. In the United States, Prof. Issher's comprehensive book on Germany was only brought to general notice by the war, and the German professor who eventually replied to it was careful to say that he knew Prof. Issher's standing in his own country did not amount to much.

The English speaking peoples then at the outbreak of this war had almost everything to learn about its real nature and origin, leaders and people alike. In the United States comment on it at first took on a high moral tone of pacificism in some distinguished Americans. President Wilson, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, ex-President Taft I remember all addressed their



countrymen at that time in speeches which referred to the war generally as an illustration of the unhappy and depraved condition of Europe in contrast with the peaceful development of the United States and thanked God that we Americans were not even as these Europeans are. It struck me at the time how very English these Americans were after all, English in their high carelessness as to the significance of a foreign phenomenon and, yes, English also in the pharasaic complacency of their utterances. Just so would the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Nation* (possibly even *The Times*) have spoken of the war, had Britain not been in it.

But after all the words of Pericles are only a sentence meant to emphasize by rhetorical antithesis the deeper reasons he gives the Athenians for going to war, namely that national greatness is more than individual welfare, that the judgment of mankind expects a great State to live up to its reputation, and that freedom being once lost, much else is lost with it. Also, the solidarity of the world's life and the interdependence of the nations is much greater to-day than it was in the time of Pericles, almost as great as that which existed in his time between the Hellenic States and communities alone. That fact is one of the principal elements in modern progress. The future of the neutral States to-day is being decided in this war just as surely as if they were taking part in it. There is not one of them whose outlook would not be seriously affected by the victory of Germany and her allies. More than that, all intelligent people now know that those who organized the German and Magyar outbreak were aiming a deadly blow at democratic progress. They had other objects but that was one. German Liberals like Friedrich Naumann of course hoped that once Germany had extended and established her empire over Europe, the ultimate result would be a great democratizing of it by constitutional agitation and voting, as if a military empire of that type could maintain itself by any other means and measures than those by which it had grown up. In any case to him, as to most German-Americans also, the Fatherland is naturally more than any ideal of democratic progress. For though some may still doubt as to who did most to bring on this war, there can hardly be any doubt as to one great





issue involved in it. He must be either an unintelligent or a dishonest man who would deny that the defeat of Britain, France and Italy would be a severe blow to democracy all over the world. And even Russia in spite of its Czardom is much more of a democracy at bottom than Germany, as one might see indeed from the proceedings of the Duma. I need not speak of Hungary or Turkey.

In such a conflict the position of the United States, the one great neutral whose power and resources enable her to speak with a perfectly free voice, was a delicate and embarrassing one, especially when we consider that she has always claimed to represent in quite a special way the cause and ideals of democracy. Was her neutrality to include a refusal to recognize any distinction between the two contending causes? Some papers and periodicals urged this course, I remember, especially in view of the mixed character of the population with its large German and Hungarian elements, not to speak of a section of the Irish who thought of no other issue than the defeat of England. It would have been like the abdication of the United States as an influence in civilization. From the first, however, one clear voice rose above the hubbub and pointed out a way which might reconcile American traditions with formal neutrality. Ex-President Eliot of Harvard in a series of clear and vigorous articles insisted on a strictly legal attitude of neutrality towards both sides, but at the same time declared that the cause of the Entente Allies was essentially the cause of democracy and had a right to the expression of American sympathies. There can be little doubt that his feeling was that of the vast majority of genuine Americans. Most of the great papers and the higher class of journalists sprang to arms at once under this banner and they were not for the most part either papers or journalists that had been accustomed to show any particular tenderness for British sentiment. Nothing could be falser than the German-American attempt to cry them down as "the English press." They were the true Americans and animated mainly by the feeling that democracy and democratic ideals were at stake in the war. But there was a great number of the population also, many of them genuine enough Americans too, who were incapable of comprehending or measuring the larger issues in the great war. Some were





confused by the tumult of voices around them, some were pacifists who refused to make any distinctions between the warring nations, some were indifferent aliens—really aliens though enrolled as American citizens—who only wanted to keep as far away from the war as possible, and to whom the Periclean maxim of a State living up to its reputation meant nothing. A mass like this can only be swung into unity of national sentiment by a leader who presents clear and decisive issues to it.

President Wilson has rather avoided doing that. If there was one subject on which American sentiment was a unit and might have been guided to a clear issue it was Germany's destruction of Belgium; but President Wilson's reply to Belgium's appeal was couched in exactly the same cold equable terms as he used in replying to the Kaiser, the despoiler.

It was certainly an extraordinary and difficult position for any man to fill, even were he a man habituated by years of experience to bear the burden of a nation's destiny and hold a steady course in the midst of the cunningest diplomatic and political intrigues. Unless he were a born statesman, the real 'Happy Warrior' described by Wordsworth

Whom neither shape of danger can dismay,  
Nor thought of tender happiness betray,

he might well be afraid of the task Providence had put upon his shoulders. For one could almost say that the government of the United States was left alone in the world with the moral responsibility of upholding international law and the rights of humanity. The small neutrals of Europe were powerless in this respect. There are many questions of international law which President Wilson might have raised, had he cared to do so. Germany's treatment of the civil population of Belgium and northern France, the massacres and devastations, the huge and systematic depopulations might all have been made the subject of protest under universally recognized principles of international law. But many of these cases are difficult to examine during the war, and then Germany has her explanations and her counter-charges also. Was President Wilson to set up a court to inquire into the Cossack devastations in East Prussia? The President also avoided, perhaps prudently,



raising questions regarding some German methods of warfare such as their distribution of offensive sea-mines around the neighbouring coasts to the danger of merchant shipping, or aerial bombing of unfortified places, or their use of poison gases, all violations of the rules accepted at the Hague Conferences. Counter-measures of a similar kind had therefore ultimately to be adopted by the Entente Allies in self-defence, and as a result all these practices have now the sanction of established usage. But the clearest and most startling violation of all, the invasion of Belgium and Luxembourg, had also passed without protest. It looks as if President Wilson had made up his mind—reluctantly we may be sure—that he had to accept the German principle of “the necessity of war” (Kriegsnot) in its fullest extent.

On questions of international trade and commerce it was mainly with the Allies the President had to deal, for they had the command of the sea and were carrying out a form of blockade against Germany which necessarily interfered with the trade of neutrals. The blockading policy was that of the Allies as a whole and was in fact more strongly expressed by the French premier on one occasion than by the British government, but the operations were carried out mainly by British warships. They were the subject therefore of considerable diplomatic correspondence between the President and the British government. The President naturally maintained the strongest views of the rights of neutrals, but the new conditions of commerce and warfare presented new difficulties which could hardly be decided in the midst of the war. On some of the most important points also the President's arguments were met by the Allies with quotations from American principles and practice. Probably, however, he would have pushed these questions further, had he not felt in common with many Americans that it would be a kind of meanness to take too much of these trade matters while Germany was startling the world with the barbarities of her warfare.

For there was one point on which President Wilson had determined to make a stand. Submarine warfare, as the Germans were operating it against merchant shipping, was an open violation alike of the clearest international law and the rights of humanity. To sink merchant vessels sometimes with





little and sometimes with no warning, sometimes far from land, and force their crews and passengers to encounter the peril and exposure of a voyage in open boats is more akin to the practice of pirates than to the warfare of civilized nations. And the cruelty is inherent in the nature of the operation. When the world reverts to its normal state after this war and begins to look over the long list of merely neutral lives lost and neutral merchantmen sunk it will be amazed at this new form of piracy Germany has set up. I will venture to say that had Britain and France been neutrals looking on, they would have united to stop it absolutely in a week. The climax came when a German submarine torpedoed the *Lusitania* with the loss of 1,150 lives, amongst them over a hundred Americans. Once again even the more indifferent section of the American public was shocked and President Wilson determined both to express his opinion frankly regarding German submarine warfare and to make an effort to stop it as far at least as it endangered American lives. Three months before he had warned Germany that the United States would hold it to "a strict accountability" for such acts. In the *Lusitania* note (May 13, 1915) he told the German government that the government of the United States had observed its submarine proceedings "with growing concern, distress, and amazement"; he pointed out that their methods could not be employed "without disregarding these rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative." . . . "without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity." He declared that he expected the German government "to disavow such acts . . . to make reparation . . . and to take immediate steps to prevent their recurrence." He concluded by intimating that the Government of the United States will not "omit any word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens." It was a strongly worded note. For the Germans had added insolence to injury by the German Embassy's addressing a communication direct to the people of the United States warning them against sailing on vessels of the Allies, a proceeding which the President in his note calls "a surprising irregularity." The Germans were evidently testing the President's backbone pretty rudely,





and also the temper of the American people. There is no doubt the people were with the President in his stand. Four days afterwards he was present at the Naval Parade in New York, and I never saw a more enthusiastic crowd. They were real Americans, I fancy, of the sort whose heart warms to songs like "The Sun shines bright in the old Kentucky home," with few recruits from the German-American Vereins. My impression at that time was that the American people in its strength would have followed a strong lead anywhere to maintain its best traditions. For a time, too, such was the strength of American sentiment, Ridder and some of the German-American editors were very cautious in their comments on the Lusitania note.

The American note of May 13th has not only the highest moral value as a protest against German barbarism which brands it to all succeeding times for the thing it is, but its influence in making the German government pause at least in its course must have been considerable. That was the high tide of President Wilson's action on behalf of the principles of humanity. On June 8, Mr. Bryan, realizing that the time for words and speeches was logically passing, resigned, and President Wilson with his new Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, sent another note to the German government which brushed aside firmly enough the irrelevant questions of trade blockades which it had introduced. "The Government of the United States," the note said, "is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity."

These were high and firm words and, coming from a great and really independent neutral, they are of far more value than the most eloquent voice amongst the belligerents can be at present. And it does not take away from the moral value of President Wilson's notes that he has not perhaps quite lived up to them. He has very naturally been slow to make the issue final one. There has been a long list of submarine outrages on both neutral and belligerent shipping since that time, with some loss of American lives also, but the cases (which only involved the lives of some American cattlemen) did not appar-



ently stir a satiated public. Germany also offered the usual explanations—a mistake, or over-zeal on the part of the submarine commander. But what President Wilson is afraid of now is some new outrage of a dramatic or startling character which will bind him to give effect to the warnings in his notes or make some high phrases bye-words in history. That is the position into which he has got. He has done nothing for a long time to prepare his nation for action, to swing it into line should he be forced to act. On the contrary, with the obvious intention of placating Germany, he has talked both before and after the election as if there was no clear issue to be discerned in this great conflict; he has said that America “is not concerned with the causes and the objects of the war,” that it is impossible to say what its “concrete objects” are. Both sides say they are fighting for the same things, he tells his countrymen, as if he refused to make any distinction between them himself. That is almost hauling down the flag. He went very near there to denying the cause of democracy in one of its greatest conflicts. “America not concerned”! Why, three-fourths of America are fighting the other fourth over it—in print. It was the great issue in the election, though the politicians would not present it in a clear form to the people. Mr. Wilson is certainly no blinder than any other educated man now is to the meaning of the new political theories of Germany and the way in which she is working them out. This official attitude cannot be merely small politics. It is obviously meant to placate the Germans and is the result of holding an undecided position over against a Government which has the offensive and every now and then makes a movement as if it were going to let loose.

It is a long time ago since President Wilson requested the British government to withdraw the cruisers which occasionally hovered near the American coast, outside of territorial waters, of course; it was disquieting, he said. The British Government withdrew its cruisers. Yet quite recently Germany sent a submarine, a much more objectionable kind of hoverer, which raided along the American coast and sunk neutrals and belligerents alike. Trying his backbone again! But the submarine did not stay there and has not come again, as yet.





It is not surprising then that President Wilson is seeking to set on foot peace negotiations by asking the belligerents to state their terms. The position of the United States is truly "intolerable" and not without danger. Germany can at any time force war or dishonor on her by submarine outrages which the German Foreign Office sometimes explains as over-zeal, sometimes as mistakes, and sometimes chooses to defend as legitimate. Germany has the diplomatic vantage of position. And in spite of the great parades and appeals, the call to national service in the United States has been a failure. I believe not two per cent. of the National Guard regiments around New York could be got to volunteer. Carranza, too, has just disdainfully rejected the modest proposal of the President to withdraw the American troops from Mexico if he will undertake to keep order in the evacuated district. Yet Mexico, I hear, is in a chaos especially in the south, although Washington passes the word all is well and has been censoring bad news from that quarter. It is no wonder that the American Senate also after much debate has agreed by 47 to 18 to support the President's request to the Powers to state their terms; but it put decisively aside the rather Utopian scheme which accompanied it for a League of Nations to guarantee peace as neither practicable nor quite consistent with the Monroe doctrine. One of the Democratic leaders, Senator Lewis, warned Germany most emphatically that they would not again accept mere "apologies" but would "resent and punish" to the full extent of their power. That is something, but he spoke on his own authority alone and his words do not actually commit either the Senate or the President to such decisive action.

The question is, should the Allied democracies—for such I will call them—accept an indecisive peace if they can force a decisive one. The German people as represented by the newspapers or by great political parties like the National Liberals have not yet shown the slightest sign that they are likely to turn their backs on the policy of the Kaiser and the military party, or that they regret the outrages they have perpetrated on land and sea. Quite the contrary. Nor have the theological Harnacks or classical Wilamovitch-Muellerdorfs or scientific Ostwalds shown any such signs. The only man who did, Liebknecht, is in a State prison. That is the best commentary





on Bethmann-Hollweg's professional assurances for a peaceful future. What terms would have been any good with Napoleon until he was defeated and discredited with the French people? None. There are signs, notwithstanding the paeans of the Kaiser, that the forces and resources of Germany are not far from exhaustion, and if the war-leaders of the Allies are of opinion that another year of effort will do it, will bring the goal within sight, then by those in Marathon—in Ypres and Verdun, we ought to do it.

### *Dark Forces.*

The Russian Duma, which is a fairly democratic assembly, has put on record just now its opinion that there exist 'dark forces', which are trying to undermine and weaken the exertions of Russia in this war. There was no need for the Duma to indicate further what those forces are. Amongst the military aristocracy and the bureaucracy of Russia, amongst the German barons of the Baltic provinces there are no doubt many men who have small sympathy with a war which might end by destroying the power of the military aristocracies of Germany and Hungary, just when they had so nearly got Democracy by the throat. And some of these men may be in high office or command. A hundred years and more ago when Napoleon was storming over Western Europe, he received not a little support from high personages who had come at length to see in him the tamer and binder of democracy rather than its champion. Napoleon indeed posed as its tamer in Germany, as you see in his letters about Stein and the Tugendbund. Even at the Court of Prussia there were those "dark forces" working secretly for Napoleon and laming all vigour and decision there for a time. They are not wanting, anywhere, the dark forces, to-day amongst the democracies; sometimes they are men who in their scorn of popular ignorance and gullibility, of the rhodomontades of Labour leaders and the hypocrisy of popular politicians have lost all faith in democratic progress and look for healing to German militarism and aristocracy; or sometimes they are, as I hear, in Italy and Roumania, high personages working with languid decency in a cause which they feel is that of digging their own graves; or they are cosmopolitan financiers with one brother French and another Ger-



man and a third a British M.P.; or Shadrach, Meschech and Abednego who belong to a city as eternal as that of Rome in the memories of men at least, the city of David, but are content to dwell in London or New York and repeat Joseph's transactions in corn. S. M. and A. have of late, I hear and partly can myself see, been turning towards the rising sun of Germany as a Power that can be relied on to extinguish the wild humours democracy has at times in dealing with vested interests. High well-born Germany is not overkind to Shadrach, as England is, but she fascinates him, encourages him to plough and sow for her and at the same time keeps him in his place. Dark forces that follow the banners of the country but work in secret against its cause; Russia, Italy, France, Britain, every country has its own types of them. Was all sound, do you think, at the Court or on the military staff of the Roumanian Hohenzollern?

Even in the United States one can discern poor friends or even real enemies of democracy, forces that are willing to help a very different cause. One can respect the sympathies of the New York *Staats-Zeitung* or *Herold* for the German Empire with its militarism and anti-democratic ideals; they are the natural sympathies of Germans camped in America, of men who feel like Germans and sing the songs of Germans. But what are we to think of Jacob Schiff, the man of peace who presented that grand mass of sculpture to the Metropolitan Museum, a working man Colossus converting a sword into ploughshare? That is certainly not the line Germany takes. Her ploughs and reaping hooks and factories and railways are all prepared beforehand for quick conversion the other way. Yet pacifist Mr. Schiff, who calls himself an American, has been an energetic defender of Germany's cause. I have forgotten now what German town bred Mr. Schiff, whether imperial Frankfurt with its ancient Judengasse or some little Silesian town or village, but assuredly the patient German schoolmaster there taught him logic enough to see that these things are incompatible. Either he should renounce the pacifist Colossus or cease praying for the success of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Yet one could not call Jacob altogether a dark force. He marches openly under his banner and there was something of the true American in that prayer of his for a German vic-





tory, but that it might be a little one! Have no fear, Mr. Schiff, it will be little, it will be less than little, in spite of all the fumbling and inefficient preparations of these thoughtless democracies who confide their important interests to aliens encamped in the midst of them.

Or what shall we say of that great democrat and People's Friend, William Randolph Hearst, sworn foe of plutocrats, corporations and combines to exploit the people, and doing good work at times in that way? yet himself one of the biggest of plutocrats and combines, with a swashbuckler body-guard of yellow journals stretching all the way from New York to California. Granted that he occasionally strikes the right nail on the head, but for all that no man in the United States stuffs the great gullible masses more unscrupulously than he when it suits him, or confuses the issues for them more. At present this great democrat is doing his best to present King Constantine of Greece as a picture of injured innocence—Constantine, who has practically destroyed the whole democratic movement in Greece and ruined the Allied expedition at Salonika by threatening it rather treacherously from the flank. I am not challenging Constantine's right to do that, or even for that matter his sagacity, but I know very well what to think of the democratic sympathies of this royal brother-in-law of the Hohenzollern. Yet the great People's Friend is his friend and not that of Venizelos the democrat.

Or look at that whole column of matter in the *New York American* of January 1, which gives large type to the announcement (coming from Berlin via Sayville!) that "British Trade Leaders" (manufacturers) have issued a declaration that all Germany wants is a lasting peace and guarantees against an encompassing military and economic league—in short, "a path leading to the pursuit of the peaceful arts." The language of the German press at the present moment (the British Leaders are reported to say) is a perfect proof that it has no favour for "Prussian militarism." . . . "Germany merely wants to enjoy some privileges which England claims for herself." How naïve! As if Treitschkes and Ostwalds and Heydebrands and Reventlows had never existed and were not in spiritual and material control of the German State. When did one ever hear that music before, that reprobation of Prus-





sian militarism, from the German papers? Long, long ago from a generation of men that has died out in Germany.

Such is the publication which Mr. Hearst presents to his readers as representing the opinions of "British Trade Leaders." Mr. Hearst may think he is serving the cause of peace by such work, if that can really be done by what he must know to be humbug and make-believe. But I remember as soon as Germany had been effectually checked at the Marne and in her drive for Calais, and it was evident that her swoop on France had failed, Mr. Hearst at once raised a loud cry of 'Stop the War.' I doubt if any true friend of democracy in the world would have done that, not one at any rate who knew anything about the international situation. Perhaps the psychology of Mr. Hearst, the democrat, is partly to be explained by that last point. These newspaper octopods are amongst the most remarkable men of our time and so placed that they can hardly be anything but either their country's salvation or its curse. Mr. Hearst is evidently a man of great energy and organizing power, with a clear hard appreciation of the facts within his range; but probably his knowledge of things outside America is of the loosely gathered kind that was characteristic of the dashing democratic journalists of the Middle West a generation ago. Sometimes he writes his own editorials and in the *New York American* of the date I have mentioned I notice one headed "Neutral Nations Can and Should Compel a Peace." It has the following paragraph: "The Scandinavian alliance would be amply justified in telling Germany that unless her peace terms were just and proper, the alliance would proceed promptly to annex Schleswig-Holstein to plundered Denmark and to make the Kiel Canal the northern limit of Germany's aim and activity."

I can imagine the ironic smile with which Swedish Hamarskiöld or Danish Brandes or Norwegian Knudsen would read that and the astonishment of Chr. Collin or Harald Hjärne at such a sample of New York journalism, and from one of its biggest newspaper men too. In the first place the alliance is not an alliance but, so far as its terms have been divulged, only a restricted agreement for the maintenance of neutrality. Secondly, Holstein is and has always been German in population and speech and would under no circumstances go



back to Denmark. Thirdly, the boundary of the Kiel Canal would include most of Holstein. All that, however, is a small matter, part of the fine sweeping style in which Mr. Hearst addresses the great American people. But that he should speak of the Scandinavian trio as possibly compelling Germany to surrender Schleswig-Holstein or taking any concerted action for that, is to show absolutely no knowledge of the Scandinavian situation, no knowledge of the politics and the sentiment of Sweden, or of the present condition of Denmark and Norway.

But perhaps that paragraph is not in the editorial for its own sake; it may be written only as an introduction to the next which runs thus: "They (the Scandinavian "alliance") would be equally or even more amply justified in notifying the Entente Allies, who are now so stupidly and cynically opposed to peace, that unless peace is forthwith concluded the Scandinavian alliance will proceed energetically and immediately to protect itself by liberating Finland from Russian domination and making that state a part of the alliance and a buffer and a barrier to Russian aggression, exactly as Germany is proposing to restore Poland to liberty," etc. etc. All Poland, Mr. Hearst? *Prussian* Poland? or only what belongs to Austria and Russia? Oh, W. R. H.! If I had a magic wand of omnipotence I would be well inclined to realize Mr. Hearst's vision of a Scandinavian federation for him, though there are more difficulties, Fennomannish and other, than he seems to be aware of. But as matters stand this paragraph is as absurd as the other. Just fancy! The Scandinavian three, Denmark, the little broken land that has long counted on Russia to save her from being swallowed to the Skaw, and Norway where they are still struggling with the Pacificists to get the barest military preparation, and Sweden where opinion is divided as to whether they have most to fear in the future from Germany or Russia, Sweden with a thirtieth part of the population of Russia and the island of Gotland at stake; that these three small neutrals should unite and "proceed energetically" to take the offensive against not only Russia but France and Britain is as ridiculous an idea as could well be conceived. They would as soon think of rigging up a craft to sail to the moon. Sweden might have played for high stakes at one time by going in with





Germany. But the others would never have joined her in that venture. They have been like all the small neutrals, in a state of apprehension and alarm during the war, each for different reasons. You might as well ask a little boy who sees his mud-house threatened by the gyrations of two big fellows fighting to step in and pummel them into peacefulness. How any man with a reputation dare write such nonsense to an intelligent people is a problem. Arthur must have qualms at times over the editorials of the chief; or does he console himself with the cynical reflection that anything goes down with our great democracy?

Mr. Hearst talks furiously about the crime of Britain and France in being willing to allow Russia to occupy Constantinople and thus encourage the Slavic inundation which the Germans claim they are seeking to stem. "Look at your map," he cries to his readers. You have got to do more than look at the map, Mr. Hearst. For generations Prussia stood calmly aside and left to Britain, with occasional help from France, the whole task of keeping the Russians out of Constantinople. Nay, her neutrality all that time was even highly friendly to Russia. Britain did this work then for many years without putting forth any high claims or pretensions to be the saviour and champion of Western civilization. Then one fine day, everything being well prepared, Germany steps in, overbids British influence at Constantinople, secures the Anatolian railway concessions from the Turk and takes him under her wing. That is, she means to have Constantinople herself—in due time. That is how Germany means to save Europe from the peril of Slavic invasion. The British nation I can say with knowledge took the changed situation with fairly good grace, at any rate without any of that loud howling which the German press sends up on the slightest occasion. Only the change urged the British to look a little more closely into the situation at the Persian Gulf on the route to India. And I would like to hear the man who could show me that it was more for his comfort or the peace of the world to have the Germans at Constantinople than the Russians. I do not see that France or Britain are called on to make any sacrifices on that score. It is Germany now and not Russia that is the great menace to





the world's peace. Mr. Hearst's ideas, for a democrat at least, are much out of date.

Russia is a difficult country for Western peoples to understand. I am not a close student of her social and political condition, but I can see that great social changes have made the books we used to read twenty years ago obsolete in many ways. It is evident, for example, that the Russian Duma is quite a democratic body in spirit and tendency, much more so than the Prussian Lower House or the German Reichstag, and that the social structure in Russia really rests, as Miljukov claims in a recent article in *Samtiden*, on a broader democratic basis than in most European lands, though it has a Czar at the top of it. It is a democracy now, competent observers say, with a Czar as its organ or expression. Her intelligentsia, her authors, poets and professors, are as they have always been, a very free and broad-minded body of men; a kind of universal humanity has been their characteristic and this must reflect some corresponding tendency in the national character. It is true Russia has all the defects and inefficiencies of a country in the throes of political and economic development; she has been as Alfred Wallace said the melting pot of decaying fragments of nationalities that had to be remoulded into a new national life, and the progress is long and slow. There may be danger to the peace of other civilized peoples from her expansion, but I am of opinion that it is considerably less than what they may expect from the expansion of the ruthless and vindictive German. Russian rule of subject nationalities has not been harder or more painful to them than Prussia's treatment of her Polish subjects or the Danes of North Schleswig. The fact that Polish and Danish deputies could speak up in the Reichstag and even were occasionally supported by other groups, did not prevent the Prussian Government from carrying out its policy of expropriations and expatriations. The systems of enforcing unification are different but the Prussian's is the more deadly in its systematic obliteration of the local nationality. But all the same the tradition of Russian despotism has been a godsend to German sympathizers, and to Mr. Hearst in particular. From that corner the heart of this grand democrat can freely speak its hate of the allied Democracies and that in the midst of their hard conflict with



h military and aristocratic empires of the German and the  
Lgyar.

Dark forces, cries the Russian Duma mournfully; dark  
forces that are striving to lame our democracy, confuse its  
spirit and vision, hamstring its energy. Yes, they are every-  
where in this conflict, which is by no means confined to the  
eigergents; some dark and some darker even to treacherous  
weakness; but many also not so dark, only faint-hearted and  
faithful. For democracy is far from being a perfect thing  
it is rather as yet one of the most imperfect things in the  
world, without a definite formula even, its old Liberal creed  
sinking below the horizon while its new Social-Democracy is  
so highly crude and repels many wise men.

The possibility of democracy maintaining itself at all de-  
pends on its capacity for education, that is, on its capacity for  
discerning honesty and truth. It has no more dangerous  
enemy than the man who recklessly stupefies the judgment of  
the people in his vanity or his malice.

JAMES CAPPON.

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(e.—The second part of Prof. Cappon's article on the Scan-  
dinavian Nations will appear in the *University Magazine*  
(Montreal) for February.







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MEDICINE IN THE TALMUD—Julius J. Price.

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IN CANADA—O. D. Skelton.

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE ISSUE ABROAD—O. D. Skelton.

A PLEA FOR THE WIDER STUDY OF CLASSICAL LIFE AND HISTORY  
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## CONTENTS

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	PAGE
THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES .....	389
<i>W. G. JORDAN.</i>	
WHY BRITAIN ENTERED THE WORLD WAR.....	401
<i>E. GRIFFITH-JONES.</i>	
THE FEDERAL UNION OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES AND COMMERCIAL UNION WITH CANADA	410
<i>ANDREW T. DRUMMOND.</i>	
THE LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ELIJAH STORIES .....	429
<i>A. V. BROWN.</i>	
MEDICINE IN THE TALMUD .....	421
<i>JULIUS J. PRICE.</i>	
THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IN CANADA .....	438
<i>O. D. SKELTON.</i>	
NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE ISSUE ABROAD.....	469
<i>O. D. SKELTON.</i>	
A PLEA FOR THE WIDER STUDY OF CLASSICAL LIFE AND HISTORY .....	478
<i>W. L. GRANT.</i>	
CURRENT EVENTS .....	484
The Position of the United States; The Submarine Warfare; Canada at War.	
<i>W. G. JORDAN.</i>	
Winter 1916-17; Russia; The War Cabinet.	
<i>A. S. FERGUSON.</i>	

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## THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES.

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THIS is a large subject and a complete survey of it would mean a review of the whole human history since what we call "civilization" began, that would require unlimited time and an encyclopedic range of knowledge. Of course, a brief paper must be more modest in its aim and more specific in its subject. I wish to deal with it as simply as possible from the standpoint of a student of the Old Testament, hoping to leave the impression that those of us who are concerned with ancient history are not so far removed from the problems of the present as might on a superficial view be supposed.

The following statement from a recent volume (*The German Soul* by Baron Friedrich von Hügel, LL.D.) would certainly startle us, if this dreadful war had not already brought us into a condition in which surprises of that kind are no longer possible. "It was, some half-year further back, only a few days before the outbreak of the war, that I received a long letter from a still young, highly cultivated, South German scholar and lecturer—a man who knew England well, ever since his student days (of some ten years before) when he had already been immersed in English subjects, a delicately religious spirit, whose Protestantism was greatly softened and suffused by large Catholic sympathies. It was a long, touchingly earnest, plea in favour of the justice of the German claims, especially of a cultural kind, and centred in the strange assertion and argument that German culture had by now, as a sheer matter of fact, fully assimilated all that deserved to live in the several civilizations of Greece and Rome, Italy, France and England; and hence that the spreading, and the substitution by means even of the force of arms, of this German culture, now thus become the legitimate heir (because the actual quintessence) of all those other cultures, was both no more than justice on the part of Germany to herself, and no



kind of loss, but rather a great gain in fruitful concentration, for Europe and humanity at large." Before the war we would have been inclined to regard such a statement as the foolish arrogance of a blind, conceited individual, but we have been forced to the conclusion that it is an attitude of mind toward which the vast majority of the German people have been drawn or driven. Narrowness and self-conceit are not uncommon among us as individuals and societies, but we do not believe that any man of our race, whom we would call "cultured", could give expression to such a preposterous national claim. It is not my business now to consider the causes, historical and political, which have made such a mental condition possible for a German thinker. Some of us who cannot render active service in connection with the war are thrown back upon the study of history, and after examining the conditions in Europe during the last century which have worked slowly towards this great crisis, we are led to reflect on the more distant ages and the conflicts through which what we call Christian civilization has been built up. We are told that this Christian civilization has in the meantime broken down, but it would be more correct to say that it had only been very imperfectly attained. While individual men seem as by a miracle to leap to great heights of saintliness and self-sacrifice the upward movement of great masses of people is exceedingly slow. Traditions, customs, prejudices, the creation of many continuous generations, are not easily destroyed or transformed. This is specially true in the sphere of theology and religion.

The view that we are now compelled to take of the Old Testament illustrates this in a variety of ways. The Hebrew people never were a "cultured" people in the German sense of that word: they were what the German diplomatic document describes the Serbians as being, "a people of *unkultur*" in the sense that they had poor roads, used ancient ploughs and clung to old customs. But it is admitted that using the word in its nobler sense they have made a great contribution to the higher culture of the world. This contribution was not what we call scientific or aesthetic, but theological, moral and spiritual. Before there could be any rich development of science, in our large sense of the word, or anything approaching what we call "cosmopolitanism", a nontheistic view of the world must be attained in at least a simple form. With one God behind all

life, working through causes and laws, science can operate; and if there is only one God we are moved to the thought of one humanity. Without conceiving "development" in any mechanical or fatalistic fashion, we can surely say that our world being what it is, and our history such as we know it, the Apostle Paul could not have spoken a thousand, or even a hundred years earlier words which by faith in one God abolish in the spiritual realm distinctions of race, sex and social condition. It is, however, one thing, if that was his view, to believe that in a new God-given kingdom soon to appear life would rest on this purely spiritual basis, and it was quite another thing for men to wrestle through many centuries with the problem of applying this great theological principle to the changing circumstances of this complex world.

It is quite orthodox to use in a superficial way the phrase "fulness of times" but, to realise its meaning demands a clear grasp of the long complex historical process. When we go far enough back we find society resting upon a polytheistic basis as it does even now in some parts of the world. For in those days all life of tribes or nations, and even classes within the nation, was controlled by religious beliefs and customs, and all wars were in a sense "holy wars". Jehovah's first great gift to His people was success in the battles they had to fight, for only thus could they attain to the position of a settled and prosperous people in the new land. If they had been destroyed and scattered at that stage they would have left no permanent influence on the world's life. At that time the idea of the world as we know it, and the ideal of various nations peacefully playing their part in a world system spirit was still in the distant future; and we now see that it is much further from its full realization than we had hoped.

It is now generally recognised that the Hebrews were not a *primaeval*, though they were what we would call a primitive, people; when they emerge into the light of history they come into a world ready made in the intellectual and spiritual sense. Babylonian culture had exercised a widespread influence beyond its own borders. It is difficult to say how far its distinctive scientific and literary features passed downward from the higher official classes in Palestine. We find in our Bible some real traces of such influence. What we have at the beginning is a simple pastoral people coming into a land where religion



manifested itself in luxuriant sensuous and even gross sensual forms, and where agriculture and the culture of the vine was, according to the standard of those days, well developed. The Hebrews had a strong faith in their own God but no scholastic theology or elaborate legal codes. They mingled freely with the original inhabitants and adopted many of their customs. But the fact that they were not absorbed but conquered even while they assimilated and adapted many new elements shows that they had a living faith, a strong individuality, as well as a tenacious conservatism. Remnants of the old desert life linger for a long time, new indulgences and new fashions are denounced as non-Israelite and displeasing to Israel's God. There never was in those days very close cohesion of the various tribal elements or highly organised political conditions. When Solomon attempted something of that kind after the manner of an Oriental despot, the Kingdom was split into two parts. The smaller simpler part, Judah, managed to maintain for long the Davidic dynasty, but in the Northern Kingdom, with some periods of prosperity, there were frequent changes and revolutions until it met its fate at the hands of Assyria 722 B.C. In that region in the 9th century B.C. we have the heroic figure of Elijah around whom have been gathered many interesting stories. Two brief remarks may be made about this man who is of the nomadic type, no courtier but a man of the desert. He protests against the worship of the Tyrian Baal on Israelite soil and with a fierce intolerance claims the land for Jehovah alone. A politician would, of course, have understood what Solomon and Ahab meant by such foreign alliances, and how they were meant to strengthen the Kingdom, but Elijah was a zealot, not a politician. As Gunkel has said, "he is a weighty member in a long and significant chain," i.e., in the succession of prophets who gave real monotheism to the world. His presentation of the fact that Jehovah is the God of justice, in the well known story of Naboth's Vineyard has real moral and political significance; the idea that "the King can do no wrong" is rejected, the King of Israel has no right to be a despot who sets aside the good old laws and customs of the tribes. The section of the Hebrew people to which this prophet belonged was broken and ruined but its prophets left an inheritance for mankind. The idea that the Israelites of the north, whose political organization was destroyed about seven cen-



turies before our era, were "ten lost tribes" who reappear in our days as "Anglo-Israelites" to gain a pre-destined material supremacy over the world is of course fantastic and absurd. What was destroyed was the distinctive character of these people by deportations and importations. Those taken to Assyria could not maintain a separate existence. Those that were left became, from the later Jewish point of view a mongrel race, the Samaritans.

The next important stage leads us to consider "the prophetic contribution" in the stricter sense, that is the work of the prophets who laboured in the second half of the eighth century B.C., and left written memorials of their ministry. In the time that intervenes between them and the first period literary activity had grown and many of the noble narratives that give such a distinctive flavour to Hebrew literature had taken their present form. We now see more clearly that economic conditions influenced the spiritual work of these great preachers. There was an increase of commerce and wealth with the usual consequence of a greater division between rich and poor. Tribal and clan relationships which had in them some real elements of brotherhood were breaking down. The prophets, as we would say, were facing new "social problems" or if the problems were not absolutely new they had a new intensity. Theirs was a social message based upon the Kingship of Jehovah and the brotherhood of Hebrew men. It was still a national message but being moral by its very nature it had a promise of universality. If the religion lived, such a God must be the God of the world and such brotherhood reach out beyond national boundaries. This is not debated by them in any academic or theological style, but implied in the spirit in which they handled great social and national questions. For example, the God of Israel is more concerned in the righteousness of the nation than in its mere existence or prosperity. Religion is not ritual but justice and kindness. The moral law is binding upon other nations. War is not unlawful but "frightfulness" is distinctly condemned (See Amos I). They have no theory of "the State" in the style of later philosophers but for them the nation is a person that is judged by God and punished for his sins. The idea of a nation as person above law justified in doing anything for its own safety, if they could have understood it, would have been repugnant to them. They

might, perhaps, have crude ideas as to what the law should be but men who believed that God's law was all comprehensive could not have said that "Necessity knows no law". Their teaching, too pure for its time, was preserved for us in a later legal and historical framework. Before the great catastrophe of the Babylonian exile came to Judah (early in the sixth century B.C.) in which it lost all but its soul, many faithful men had laboured, poets, teachers, and priests, to understand and apply the principles of this religion. The noble summary "to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly with thy God" has been recognised by keen thinkers who have little sympathy with technical theology as one of the highest achievements of religion. It is not the creation of one inspired man but a summary of the results of this great prophetic movement.

When, at this time, Jerusalem was captured and the Jewish State destroyed that which assured the survival of the religion was that a distinct religious character and culture had been reached; in ancient stories, in noble sermons and lofty poems as well as legal codes this was clearly expressed. These treasures from the past lived in the minds of the best of the people and their circumstances, though hard, did not destroy all cohesion and crush out all communal life. Details as to the exact condition of the people in Babylon and of those who still clung to their native soil are obscure, but the broad result is clear that a Church was produced destined to live long and exert a powerful influence through succeeding generations. Though the exiles were oppressed by the alien atmosphere and tormented by the signs of what were to them profane and idolatrous forms of religion, it does not seem that they were suffering religious persecution in the strictest sense. They were the victims of political circumstances and of a great national calamity. In the Persian rule (540-333) that followed the Babylonian there seems to have been a large measure of tolerance. The small Jewish community suffered from local rivalries but not from any organised attempt of the Imperial rulers to control the religious customs of the small State. These words from Cornill (*History of the People of Israel*, p. 168) seem to be quite justified. "It is one of the greatest ironies of fate known to universal history, or to speak more correctly, it is one of the most striking evidences of the wonderful ways which Divine Providence takes for the attainment of its most



important and most significant ends, that the final completion and the permanent consolidation of the exclusive Judaism which sealed itself hermetically against everything non-Jewish and rejected sternly everything heathen, was accomplished and made possible only under the protection and by the aid of the heathen government, that the reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah, to use a modern phrase, hung from the sword belt of the Persian 'gens d'armes'. And yet the work was of God, and only thus could the religion of revelation be preserved. But for the energy of Nehemiah the whole history of humanity would have run an entirely different course. And therefore we too must look up to this man with gratitude, and reverence to this day."

When we are speaking of the stern discipline and the tenacious tradition which held these people together and preserved for humanity so many precious elements, it is well to remember that to the beginning and end of this particular period there belong two books, Job and Ecclesiastes which are regarded by competent judges as among the greatest in their own line in the literature of the world. Though written by Jews and from the Jewish standpoint they deal with universal questions; they handle these questions in a bold unsectarian spirit. This brings us to a point where the two definite and different cultures meet that have been called Hebraism and Hellenism. We owe much to both and whatever may be true of individuals we can scarcely claim in our collective capacity to have even yet absorbed the best in each.

To find historical parallels may be as dangerous as well as a tempting pursuit, and Professor Cramb has stated that history never really repeats itself. But there is much truth in the common saying, that "history repeats itself"; of course, there is no exact or mechanical repetition but some periods resemble other periods in the principles and spirit that have come into conflict, though often there is as much to be learned from their differences as their similarities. Thus we have frankly to admit that in the Old Testament we see clearly a claim that one small people is to be the centre and ruling power in the world; this claim is not made because of their national character and military strength, but because of their relation to God who will destroy or subjugate the hostile world that comes against them. There is side by side with this strain the other



gentler universal element reached by the greater prophets, but the hard national spirit and religious intolerance continue and finally lead men to regard the Jew as the enemy of the human race. This we can quite understand and seen in its historical perspective it is natural and perhaps inevitable. But we find it hard to comprehend when we meet it on a great scale in the twentieth century. Herder (1744-1803) is reported as having said "of all kinds of pride I hold national pride the most foolish; it ruined Greece, it ruined Judea and Rome." But that was over a hundred years ago. And when we to-day read the words of an Old Testament scholar, a German, regarding the ancient situation one is tempted to think of the way in which his own country has been made the greatest military power in the modern world. "It is particularly significant and not all a matter of accident, that in order to take the aggressive the Greeks themselves had first to be made again presentable in history, if I may be allowed the expression, by the semi-barbarous people of Macedonia. Hellenism was enabled to enter upon its victorious career of world conquest only through the Macedonians and under their dominion." (Cornill p. 178). If in this paragraph we substitute Prussian for Macedonian and Germans for Greeks the parallel is striking and contains a large measure of truth.

In Cramb's *Germany and England* (p. 124) we have a statement for which he does not give his authority and I do not think that it has been discovered. "On the night before Alexander of Macedon started for the East on that career of conquest in which, like Achilles, his great exemplar, he was to find his glory and an early death, he had a farewell interview with the man who had been his tutor, now the master of a rising school of thought in the shades of the Lyceum and towards the close of the interview Aristotle said to the Macedonian, 'You are about to start upon an enterprise which will bring you into many lands and amongst many nations, some already celebrated in arts and arms, some savage and unknown but this last counsel I give you: Whithersoever your victories lead you, never forget that you are a Greek, and everywhere draw hard and fast the line that separates the Greek from the Barbarian.'

'No', answered the youthful conqueror—he was barely twenty-one—"I will pursue another policy, I will make all men

Hellenes, that shall be the purpose of my victories'." It is admitted that Alexander had this magnificent ambition and that his conquests led to great results in this connection, but he himself became so much of an Oriental as to provoke revolt among his own followers.

On the death of Alexander (323, B.C.) the Jews came under the Ptolemies in the Egyptian division of his Empire and for almost a century their experience of Hellenism was pleasant. They met it in its better form in Alexandria, they were encouraged to settle in that city, and had a large measure of freedom, a beginning was made towards the translation of their sacred books into Greek, and they enjoyed the benefits of Greek culture without being called to sacrifice their loyalty to their God and their law. The result of this is seen in a book—"The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach"—of which Cornill's judgment is "In this book genuine Jewish piety shines with such a mild and pure light, purged of all that is sharp and rude; piety and common sense are here combined in such broadly beautiful charity, morality ennobled by religion and religion in morality, that one can see plainly that Judaism is not inherently hostile to culture, but that here true religion and true culture join in a beautiful union fruitful for both sides." (p. 181).

After this came the great struggle which showed that Judaism could hold its own against fierce oppression, and left the parties within the Jewish nation and Church pretty much as we find them in the New Testament. At the beginning of the second century B.C. Palestine became a Syrian province and the change was accepted gladly as the character of the Egyptian government had determined. It looked as if the Jews would get on well with their new governors but within a few years they were engaged in a life and death struggle. This period has been called the time of "the Greek peril" and there are some students who think that if things had continued to go smoothly that Judaism would have been in greater danger than it was from open and brutal persecution. In other words, the process of "peaceful penetration" went on very rapidly. Greek cities sprang up in the Orient, and Greek customs, artistic, social and athletic presented many attractive features. To men who had been repressed by a severe discipline these things had a strong fascination. The men of the priestly and official



class were specially caught by this new movement. This accounts for the fact that Judah did not present a solid front to the Syrian oppressor but was divided against itself. In 190 B.C. the Graeco-Syrian army had been defeated by the Romans at Magnesia and brought under tribute to the Roman Empire, and was hard pressed to gain revenue to meet the Roman demands. The practice of forced loans from temples, the treasure houses of those days, was not popular, any more than such exactions in our own day, and led to rebellion at Elymais ending in the death of Antiochus III. The temple at Jerusalem was attacked in this way, other divisions were then revealed.

How deeply the division had entered into the life of Judah may be seen from the opposition which Onias, a loyal and pious high priest, met from his own people and party. One of the priests, Simon, called the attention of the Syrian officials to the treasures of the temple in Jerusalem and one of these officials was sent to appropriate a portion of the treasure. There was fighting in the streets of Jerusalem between the two factions, and as a result Onias went to Antioch to plead his own and the people's cause. By this time a new ruler had come to the throne, and we may see how far the division and rottenness had spread in Jerusalem when we learn that the brother of Onias who had taken the Greek name Jason promised this king a great sum of money and an energetic Hellenizing of the Jews as well if he would depose his brother and make him high priest. This is a picture of the man before whom these priests had to appear and who brought on the great crisis that is reflected in the Book of Daniel. "Antiochus Epiphanes became a most hateful personage for Jewish history, and there are still disputes as to what his real motives were. Even to his contemporaries this prince was a psychological riddle. The great historian Polybius, who knew him personally, gives a detailed characterization of him, showing forth the most contradictory traits. Popular wit explained the matter by changing his name, Epiphanes to Epimanes, that is, the crazy, the fool, and in fact the whole description of Polybius gives the impression that Antiochus was not really malicious and corrupt but rather affected with a mental defect, whimsical and irresponsible and not accustomed to submit to any sort of restraint. There even appears in him a leaning to coarse humour which we may almost characterize as waggishness." Between this



## *THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES.*

man and the pious patriotic Jews a terrible conflict arose into the details of which we need not enter. This conflict showed that a body of people who for generations had no experience in diplomatic and military affairs could when driven to the wall make a fierce resistance. In spite of the fact that it was a small and divided nation it carried on the war with such success as to tax to the full the military resources of its rulers. From the family of the Maccabees there arose both soldiers and statesmen capable of inspiring heroic efforts and handling with great skill the most delicate situations. When the battle for religious freedom was won there might have been peace if the Hellenic party had been wise as the Puritans or the pious party were not seeking political power. But the Maccabean leaders were driven to strive for complete independence and a new dynasty was formed. Once more military success led to spiritual deterioration and the fierce spirit of faction weakened the whole structure of society and left it fit only to become the mere province of a great empire, in this case that of Rome. But the influence of this small province was to gain a range greater than that even of the Roman Empire. The religious discipline through which it had passed gave the race a power of coherence and persistence which all the brutal forces of a hostile world has not been able to destroy. The book became so supreme that the loss of the temple and of Jerusalem was not fatal. The Greek Bible was the beginning of a work of translation, that now covers the entire world. Many of the most influential of the first Christian disciples were as we know quite familiar with this Bible and the Greek New Testament bears constant traces of its influence. Thus was Christianity prepared to appropriate and use the fruits of Greek thought and these have left their marks upon our Christian creeds. So without carrying our investigation further it is clear that it is by the conflict, the action and reaction of different forms of culture that the higher life of the world has been enriched. The long preparation for the coming of the Christ with the light shining more and more into the perfect day was such a conflict extending over a thousand years. It was full of disasters and tragic failures and yet when seen in its true perspective, seen in the large light of what we call universal history it is one of the most powerful appeals towards faith in an

overruling Providence and a real meaning of the world's history.

The highest thought in Judaism was reached by the prophet who claimed for his nation the position of servant of humanity. This was a glorious hope, an anticipation that Judaism in its natural form could not realise and an ideal that has not been fully reached by any nation. With all humility we may say that our own Empire has advanced as far on this line as any because it has had men who have realised that there is something higher even than the loftiest patriotism. From the Jews we may still learn lessons as to the preserving and strengthening power of an individual culture which gives religious teaching a central place in life, and stamps upon the plastic minds of children the noblest traditions from the past. We may also distinguish between the kernel and the husk in our ancient Scriptures and learn that the dream of world-empire and permanent superiority even of a "chosen people" is a thing of clay, the earthly vessel which serves its purpose in preserving the heavenly treasure. But in its historical setting it is not ridiculous, in its original position it has a natural place in the order of development. As the great Apostle has said that is not first which is spiritual but that which is natural and afterward that which is spiritual. But the revival of such a claim in the twentieth century is a grotesque manifestation of national arrogance which leads one to examine with all possible severity the claims to culture of the nation that presses it. If there is one clear lesson of history it is that a real culture produced after centuries of powerful thought and noble faith can neither be propagated by the sword nor destroyed by it. In so far as it is real and truly spiritual it represents the spirit of a long line of saints and martyrs, it has come from God through the channel of human sorrow and sacrifice, it bears its own charmed life, and the worldly powers have to say "it is as the air invulnerable and our vain blows malicious mockery." The twentieth century belongs not to Germany or Britain, Russia or France but to the world, and to those who learning the great lessons of the past seek to bear their share in the world's highest life not in the temper of monopoly but in the spirit of brotherhood.

W. G. JORDAN.



## WHY BRITAIN ENTERED THE WORLD WAR.

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THE question as to who was really responsible for the world war which began in August, 1914, is one that is again being fought out in the diplomatic courts of Europe with a vigour and heat which shows their sense of its illimitable importance for a final judgment at the bar of posterity. Germany has recently been doing her uttermost to repudiate the responsibility, and is using all the wiles of her crooked diplomacy to fix it on this country. By a careful manipulation of the published evidence, she is making a parade of her innocence, and of the guilt of her arch-enemy—Britain. There is, indeed, one piece of evidence which in itself goes far to settle the issue, and that is that while all the diplomatic correspondence immediately preceding the war is published on the side of the allies, the Central Powers have not yet ventured to publish the whole of their correspondence with each other. Till this is done, the verdict will inevitably go by default. There are however other lines of evidence which bear heavily on the problem, and to one of these it is the purpose of this article to contribute. It is the state of opinion in Britain—commercial, political, social, military, international—during the years, and especially the months, preceding the sudden outbreak of hostilities. That this is relevant to the issue is plain when we remember that in no democratic country is opinion better organized, more easily ascertained, or more determinative of public policy, than in Britain. It is practically impossible for the British Government to venture on any great enterprise involving the fate of the nation, unless it is sure of the nation's will. And what this article is intended to prove is that while Britain before the war was absolutely free from the war-spirit, totally unprepared for a first-class war, inwardly torn by faction and dissension, and entirely absorbed in domestic problems,—it was yet instantly unified by one great decision to throw its whole strength on the side of the Entente powers. Let us consider these points in order.



## I.

*There Was No War-spirit in Britain.*

The idea now being sedulously disseminated by Germany among neutral nations that this war is the result of Britain's intense jealousy of that country's growing commercial prosperity (and threatened supremacy) is one of the wildest fictions ever fabricated to justify an untenable and insincere position. I have spent the whole of my life in the home country, in more or less intimate relations with commercial as well as religious circles, and can testify with unqualified confidence that no such sentiment of hostility existed. The only plausibility such a statement could claim is that in certain ultra-orthodox sections of Christian thinkers the name of Germany was anathema because so closely associated with the bugbear of the Higher Criticism; but as these sections were nearly all strongly pacifist in temper, it can scarcely be claimed that their influence would be exercised in behalf of a warlike policy. The leading religious thinkers were all more or less in thrall to Germany as the source of the finest and most scholarly contributions to theologic thought, and would be still less likely to incite their fellow-citizens to an anti-German attitude. As regards the business world, there was not only the freest market for German goods, in Britain, unhampered by import duties, but every attempt to impose such duties was sternly and successfully resisted by public opinion. German merchants freely carried on their business in all the great commercial and manufacturing centres; German clerks were unsuspectingly employed even in confidential positions, many of whom as is now known suddenly disappeared when their purpose was realized, to be found later on in the various countries with which our commerce was being carried on, busily undermining our position and stealing our trade. This unsuspecting attitude on our part may have been a poor business policy, but it at least proves how free we were from even the precautionary spirit which might later on have led to such an attitude as is ascribed to us. And further, the condition of British trade, during the years preceding the war, was so consistently and increasingly prosperous that there was no ostensible need on our part for jealousy of any other nation, however progressive

or prosperous it, in turn, might be. There seemed to be plenty of place in the sun for both nations to develop their commercial policy side by side, in harmony and friendship. Finally, Germany was Britain's best customer, and *vice versa*, so that the prosperity of each was organically bound up with the prosperity of the other. Such a relation was not favourable, at least on our side, to any development of hostile feeling. As a matter of fact there was an ever-widening circle of friendship among the leading commercial houses on both sides of the North Sea, and an increasing tendency to exchange social visits, and to send their sons to be educated in each other's country with a view to cementing even closer commercial relationships in the next generation. All this made for peace, not for war.

## II.

*In military circles alone were there any indications of disquietude in Britain during the years before the war?*

That this did exist is clear enough, and that it was justified is now just as clear. It is no less certain that the military authorities utterly failed to inoculate the public with the faintest trace of sympathy with its sense of uneasiness. The militarist party in Parliament made no headway in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of its representatives to increase its influence; for such is the close relationship between the British Parliament and the state of opinion among the constituencies, that no party can hope to succeed in any propaganda unless it reflects a section of genuine outside opinion. At last, as a dying effort, this party enlisted the advocacy of the veteran Field Marshal Lord Roberts, sent him round the great centres of population with a view to rouse the common people to a sense of the "impending" danger, and the need for universal military training. If any one could have succeeded in such a mission it was the fine soldier and noble Christian gentleman who was referred to in private conversation by civilian and soldier alike as "dear old Bobs." Yet even he failed ignominiously in his crusade, and retired almost heart-broken from an effort too great alike for his commanding influence and his physical strength. Where Lord Roberts failed on such a mission, no other publicist in England would be likely to succeed, and the scheme was dropped.



Looking back from the vantage ground of the present moment, it seems nothing less than astounding—this impenetrable complacency of the nation in view of the events that were being prepared for in the near future. Our efficient army at that time was on what we call a “peace footing,” and amounted to barely a quarter of a million soldiers capable of being thrown bodily into the field at a few days’ notice. A nation possessing such a weapon of offence against another capable of mobilizing millions of splendidly trained and fully equipped men at a mere word of command can scarcely be said to be in a condition or in a mood for concocting a world-war—unless it were a nation of lunatics!

In one direction alone was the “militarist” party successful, and that was in their endeavour to keep the navy up to the concert-pitch of perfect efficiency and readiness. It is also quite true that the public ratification of the policy of the Government to safeguard our shores from possible invasion was due to the naval policy of Germany, who was increasing her navy at a pace and in a manner which could have only one possible object—to rival and in time to surpass our own. In view of that salient fact, the accusation can scarcely be brought forward that Britain was pursuing an aggressive policy against Germany. It would at any moment have been perfectly easy for us to demand that this naval rivalry should cease at the cost of the declaration of war, the issue of which, so far as the rival navies were concerned, could only have been the wiping out of Germany’s fleet. Instead of this, all we did was to increase our navy in such a manner that in the event of a war being forced on us our own naval supremacy would be maintained beyond any doubt. This was a purely defensive policy forced on us by the challenge from the other side of the channel. Less we could not do: that we did not do more is proof positive of our own obstinately peaceful intentions towards neighbouring nations. Our navy is our only bulwark against aggression, the only defence of our world-wide carrying trade, our first and last line of safety; and to throw away its initial advantage against attack would be not only instantly to lose our national security, but to risk our food supplies, and so to imperil our very existence as a people.



So much for the attitude of Britain towards Germany as a world power and commercial "rival."

### III.

The pacific intentions of Britain before the outbreak of the great world-war were, however, based on other than voluntary considerations. *They were ensured by the internal condition of the nation up to the moment of its occurrence.*

Not within living memory had the political and social state of Britain been in so disturbed and unhappy a position as during the years before the war. Our country is essentially party-governed; but the relations between the party leaders, however acute and even violent their mutual attitude on public questions, have seldom interfered with their private friendships. This indeed has been one of the glories of our system, and one of its chief safeguards against unpatriotic abuse. Owing to various causes, however, this happy state of things had become greatly disturbed, and the old *bonhomie* and good understanding between the front benches in the House of Commons had given way to a personal bitterness unknown to recent history. By way of proof, I would refer only to the fact that the persistent attempts made by members of the Young Tory party to ruin our present Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, over the trumped-up charge of corrupt practices in the Marconi company affair. But for the splendid personal loyalty of his predecessor to him in the hour of trial these machinations would probably have succeeded, and his public career been brought to an ignominious end, with what possible result to the Empire it is appalling to contemplate.

These unhappy relations between our Parliamentary leaders was paralleled outside the House in the mutual attitude of employer and employees in the industrial world. For several years there had been growing tension and bitterness between these two vital members of the body-economic. The failure of a railway strike five years ago had only hardened the attitude of the working classes, and driven them to organize their forces on a larger scale so as to ensure success next time; and in view of this the employers had organized themselves as never before. The opposing forces were about to join issue during the summer when the war broke out; indeed, things had got to

such a pitch that a colossal industrial struggle seemed inevitable. Now it seems one of the laws of British psychology that the public seems incapable of giving any real attention at the same time to both foreign and domestic politics. If the one presents any engrossing problem, the other is for the time being utterly neglected, and *vice versa*. There can be no doubt whatever as to the direction in which the eye of Britain was absorbed in August, 1914. It was certainly not fixed on the Kaiser and his war-plans.

Again, Britain in 1914 was in the throes of a virulent outburst of sex-warfare. Were it not the year when the Great War broke out it would certainly go down in history as the year of the Suffragette. Those not living in England at that time can scarcely conceive the intensity, the ruthlessness, and the apparent hopelessness of the struggle. The more wildly the women behaved, the more sternly did political parties on all sides close their ranks against being hen-pecked into granting female suffrage. The women had brought public life into a state of siege. No party leader was allowed to utter a word in public without being screamed down by apparently hysterical women; no political meeting could be held anywhere without being broken up by hired roughs and gangs of the shrieking sisterhood. They treated friend and foe with fine impartiality. Mr. Asquith, who was an anti-suffragist, was unable for a long time to say a word in public outside the House of Commons; Mr. Lloyd George, who was a convinced upholder of women's suffrage, fared no better; and it was the same all round. It was clearly the aim of the suffragette party to make public life impossible unless they got their way; and nothing would convince them that they were on the wrong tack to reach their goal. But they did succeed in bulking so largely in the public eye that an added source of absorption was found in this movement to the deep oblivion of all foreign affairs.

Finally, the Home Rule controversy had become greatly accentuated, instead of being settled, by the passing of the Home Rule Bill into law. The Ulsterites of the north of Ireland had been openly arming for what they deemed the unavoidable conflict with the Home Rulers of the rest of that distracted island; the movement being countered by similar preparations on the other side. The gun-running operations in



which Sir Edward Carson and his friends indulged or which they at least sanctioned; the secret arming and drilling of the populace here and there throughout the land; the inflammatory speeches of the loyalists, who openly avowed their intention to die in the last ditch rather than surrender to Home Rule; the secret machinations of the *Sinn Feiners* all over the country; these and other symptomatic and irritant facts were rapidly bringing us within sight of civil war in the Emerald Isle.

Putting all these facts and movements together, is it not absolutely clear that Britain in the spring of 1914 was so entirely absorbed in her domestic troubles and perplexities as to make it quite impossible for her to entertain any plan involving foreign entanglement or conflict? True it sometimes happens that a government sorely beset with home problems and fearful of being turned out through its inability to solve them, plunges into foreign complications by way of uniting public opinion in a common and enthralling scheme of conquest or revenge. It is not too much to say, in reply to such a possible suggestion, that the men at the helm of British affairs at that memorable and distracting time were incapable of such a cold-blooded, Machiavellian policy. Whatever their faults and failings, they were sincere and loyal patriots, and the idea of plunging their country into the insecurities and jeopardies of a world conflict, for which the country was totally unprepared, in order to save their own faces, is a depth of infamy of which they were utterly incapable. No one indeed has ventured to accuse them of it.

On the other hand, there is strong evidence in favour of the thesis that it was just this absorption in her home affairs, just this extraordinary accumulation of domestic problems, on the part of the British Government, that formed the chief incentive in Germany to bring about the war just when she did. The German Ambassador, it is now well known, was closely interrogated by his Foreign Office as to whether Germany could rely on the general impression abroad that we in England were too completely entangled in these various forms of internecine strife, even to think of taking part in a continental war, and his answer was emphatically that she could. Especially, he said, was the spectre of imminent civil war in Ireland a guarantee that Britain could safely be left out of the reckon-



ing. And when on the 4th of August, the British Government declared war on Germany, there was one man sitting in the distinguished strangers' gallery in the House of Commons who was so entirely taken by surprise, that he declared himself that night to be a ruined man. Both he and his government had left out one factor in the moral psychology of the British mind which suddenly came to the front and instantly rallied the whole nation, and brought all parties into line.

#### IV.

The point of crystallization for British opinion was—unquestionably—*the invasion of Belgium*.

It has been freely said since that fateful hour that Britain only made an excuse of this fact for covering her real purpose in entering the war, which was her incurable jealousy of Germany's growing power and influence, and her determination to take advantage of the situation in her own selfish interests. And it is quite true that if Britain had not declared war on the actual plea which was urged by Sir Edward Grey, she would have been obliged for her own sake, and that of the world at large, to enter on the conflict sooner or later. Nevertheless, it is incontrovertibly true that at that time these larger issues were entirely hidden from the British nation at large, however clear they may have been to a few of her leaders; and that the only motive that was capable of uniting the whole nation in the one great commanding, determining purpose, was the call of Belgium to come to her rescue in the hour of her betrayal and agony. It is not too much to say that if the German Emperor had refused to violate the treaty safeguarding the neutrality of Belgium, England would not have come into the war until it was too late to hinder Germany from overrunning France and taking Paris; and the whole world's fate would have been utterly different.

When, however, Sir Edward Grey in that closely reasoned, irresistible speech in which he outlined the course of the previous month's European diplomacy, showed that we were morally pledged to come to the help of Belgium, it was as if a great Hand had been suddenly stretched out over the troubled waters of British life, and a voice said "Peace be still!"—and there was a great calm. All party cries were instantly stilled.

Every warring faction fell into line. Tory and Radical, Home Ruler and Unionist, employer and employee, suffragette and anti-suffragist, joined hands in complete oblivion of their antagonisms and enmities, and Britain woke up next day to find herself indissolubly one in mind and heart and purpose. The deepest chord in her composite and perplexing nature had been struck by a master-spirit, and from that hour to this there has been no uncertainty, no faltering, no turning back in her determination to see the thing through, and to cease not her effort and her sacrifice till the hordes of invading Huns are driven back within their own borders in utter discomfiture and disgrace. *The great plot had failed.*

This, and no other, is the reason why Britain entered the great world war; and this is the reason why she will not pause till victory crown the Allied cause.

E. GRIFFITH-JONES.

## THE FEDERAL UNION OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES AND COMMERCIAL UNION WITH CANADA.

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**W**HILST the term British West Indies is, perhaps, with many people, associated only with the numerous islands belonging to Great Britain in and surrounding the Carribean Sea, yet, so considerable is the identity of interest between these islands and the neighbouring mainland Crown Colonies of British Guiana and British Honduras in climatic conditions, products of the soil, trade outlook, character of the people, and system of government, that in considering questions affecting their political and commercial future, it is the more fitting course to comprehend them all under the one term of British West Indies. Any proposals of advantage to some of them would, in a relative measure, be equally advantageous to the others, whether these proposals involved constitutional changes, were productive of increased internal development or would result in extensions of trade. Excepting those of the Bahama Islands which are opposite Florida, all of these colonies are within the tropics, and whilst the physical conditions existing on some islands lead to more cultivation of certain products than on others, practically all American tropical plants of commercial interest, except possibly rubber, can, under modern scientific methods, be successfully grown almost everywhere throughout the British West Indies.

What strikes the attention of the ordinary observer are the enormous agricultural possibilities of these colonies, requiring only capital, abundant suitable labour, and a larger guiding hand of Anglo-Saxons, to result in such abundant returns as to make the Empire almost independent of foreign countries in all the numerous American tropical fruits, and furnish a great source of supply for such important products as sugar, coffee, rice, cocoa, oil producing nuts, hemp, rubber, cotton and various tropical structural, cabinet, and dye goods, whilst there is, on the savannahs of British Guiana, and in, it is claimed, British Honduras, an important future for cattle. At present, only about one per cent of the 99,600 square miles of territory which these two mainland colonies include, is under cultivation, whilst, on nearly all of the islands, the respective governments



have large areas of land available for disposal. In the old days of slavery, there was great prosperity among the planters, but, on its abolition, difficulties began, immediately, with labour. Even wages did not induce—and, too often, do not now—the free negro to overburden himself with continuous work, and this resulted, particularly in British Guiana and Trinidad, in coolie labour being introduced from India under circumstances somewhat trying at first. Following on this, was the inability of the planters to compete with the sugar produced in slave owning countries, and, later on, with the bounty-fed beet sugar of Continental Europe, and, in both cases, the refusal, for so many years, of the British Government, wedded to free trade, to adopt countervailing duties in Great Britain, which would have prevented the ruin of large numbers of planters and the virtual abandonment on some of the islands of sugar production, and would have averted what was almost the bankruptcy of the British West Indies. Added to these troubles the climate, until recent years, has not had an enviable reputation among the people of temperate climes, but now, with the enforced sanitary regulations, proper care of the person, and the war on the mosquito breeding places, the climate has altogether lost the more serious objections raised to it. The richness of the soil on both the islands and the mainland; the semi-tropical and tropical heat, counterbalanced nearly always by an abundant rain fall; and the ample opportunities afforded to the planter for insular and for mainland situations, for alluvial flats, hilly outlooks, or broad savannahs, all present a diversity of conditions conducive to great luxuriance of growth, and to a great variety of important products, in common use, being cultivated on a commercial scale.

Whilst agriculture will always be the leading feature of the islands, there are in British Guiana valuable mineral resources, including gold, and some iron, mercury, antimony, plumbago and even diamonds, all of which are known in general terms, and await more definite prospecting, and the necessary capital for development, whilst in British Honduras the belief is prevalent that exploration in its back country will result in finding important minerals. In these two mainland colonies, there are also dense forests with many woods valuable for engineering, agricultural and cabinet purposes, and splendid water falls which are easily rendered available as power

in working up these woods into marketable products, and in operating railways and the various mills and factories which are now, or can be constructed for crushing the cane, separating the rice, extracting the oil from the cocoa and cohune nuts, and other manufacturing purposes, as well as in electric lighting, and in facilitating the drainage, ploughing and other operations on the large plantations, the acreage of some of which runs into the thousands.

The differing attitudes maintained by some of these colonies towards questions of preferential duties and of markets for West Indies products, arise, in part, from their imports being limited so largely to food-stuffs and articles for domestic use or personal wear, and, in part, to the fact that whilst sugar continues to be the larger output of the West Indies, each colony now specializes in certain products which have been found by experience more permanently profitable, or more suited to its particular conditions of soil, moisture, or elevation above the sea. Thus, whilst British Guiana exports sugar, rum, rice and balata, Jamaica depends more on bananas, coffee, logwood and cocoa, Trinidad chiefly on sugar and cocoa, Dominica on limes, and the Bahamas on sisal hemp and sponges. The United States, by its proximity to the West Indies, and through being a very large consumer of tropical products, has always offered a favourable market, of which Jamaica, Trinidad, British Honduras and the Bahamas have especially taken advantage, and this has naturally led to correspondingly large importations, in return, from there, and to the development of frequent and quick steamship services between the West Indies, and New Orleans, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. These facts have an important bearing on the possibilities of enlarged trade relations between Canada and the British West Indies.

Under the conditions brought about by the war, it has become suggestively important, whenever the situation is favourable, to have the scattered colonies and dependencies of Great Britain politically grouped for the purpose of increased financial strength, mutual help and defence, and internal development. The cable, wireless telegraphy and quick transportation by land and by water, have greatly facilitated this. Thus, the British West Indies, to which might, probably, be added Bermuda, impress us as being a conveniently situated



group of fifteen Crown Colonies which should, in their own best interests, as well as those of the Empire, be politically united under one government. The subject is here discussed with a knowledge of the obstacles which Royal Commissions on the West Indian situation in past years have found in the way of a federal union, but under the belief that with the throwing open freely of the rapidly enlarging Canadian markets to British West Indian raw products, the groundlessness of the fear entertained in Jamaica and other islands that the United States might retaliate were much reciprocal freedom given, and the new spirit of optimism with which we, since the war began, have approached all Imperial problems, such obstacles will largely, perhaps entirely, disappear. Under these more promising convictions, the suggestions now made have been placed before both the Imperial and the Canadian Governments.

Federal union of these colonies can be viewed from the standpoints of concentration of authority, external trade, internal development, and, to some extent, strategical importance to the navy, but these standpoints are somewhat interdependent. With their affairs at present administered by fifteen governors, administrators and commissioners, and two to three score of high officials appointed to the executive and legislative councils, a federal union, whilst probably leading to some economy of administration, would result in a concentration of authority, and an ease of control and of internal co-operation, which do not now exist; would better attract intellect, population and capital for the development of its resources; would have a much higher status and much better opportunity than the individual colonies now have in trade and other relations with the different parts of the Empire and with foreign nations; and, as a new unit in the Empire, with large resources and future promise, would be an added strength to Great Britain. In securing the development of its resources, the greater financial and economic strength and the prestige of a federation can necessarily accomplish what the individual colonies would be quite unable to effect. It can, at any time, successfully concentrate its efforts on any needed public developments in any part of the federation, whether, as in this case, on such necessary objects as harbour works, river channels, railways, dykes, drainage works, forest highways or



water transport; or whether it be in dealing from its broader standpoint, with education, public health, agriculture, forest conservation, or interimperial or foreign trade. The aggregate export and import trade of these colonies probably does not at present exceed in value one hundred and fifty million dollars, but the possibilities of vastly increasing these figures by co-operative and concentrated effort are no longer a dream.

The much greater proximity of the islands than Bermuda, the present naval base, to the Panama Canal, the immensely preponderating use of which by British shipping is shown by recent returns, and the enlarging steam services, both for inter-insular communication and for external trade, which would result from federation, suggest the importance of having great coaling stations and naval bases here. Even now, the United States Government has established what its officials term "ideal naval strategic bases" at Culebra, an island off the east coast of Porto Rico, and at Guantanamo harbour on the southeast coast of Cuba, which Captain Mahan, the United States naval expert, considers can become to that country in the Carribean Sea what Gibraltar and Malta are to British interests in the Mediterranean Sea.

The Crown Colony system of government at present prevailing in the British West Indies is not, in its details, the same in all of these colonies, but covers the one general principle of government administered by the Crown acting through a governor and executive council appointed by it. In some of the colonies, the people are represented in a House of Assembly—or, in the case of Jamaica, in a Legislative Council—which has legislative powers, but no part in the administration, whilst all enactments are subject to the approval of the governor and, through him, of the Colonial Office in London. In the case of a federal union, what kind of government would, conceivably, be suitable? It is necessary to remember past political and trade experiences in the British West Indies, and their connection with the character and the respective numerical strengths of the different classes of the population. Probably, with the greater prosperity now, the difficulties of the past will never again recur, but the, as yet, small English speaking white population, and, with some important exceptions, the intellectual condition of the negroes and of the East Indian coolies, who, with some Portuguese, Chinese, Spanish, and

native Indians, form the large remaining population, may not yet warrant the granting of responsible government. That, however, should be the object in view, whenever, in process of time, conditions become favourable, and, in the meantime, the preferable method appears to be the centralizing of the government at one selected point, under a modification of the Crown Colony system, with *the executive side* represented by the governor and the necessary executive officials, appointed by the Crown, forming the Executive Council, which would have the administrative authority, and *the legislative side* represented by an elective House of Assembly with larger membership than now, relative to the numbers of the Executive Council having seats *ex officio*, and with larger powers of criticism and suggestion, but with the right to the Crown to veto any legislation. Considering the character of the population, qualification of electors should include a satisfactory literary test in English, as well as land ownership or rental. There are municipal and parochial systems already in force in some of the colonies, and these would form a basis for enacting general legislation under which municipal councils would be created throughout the colonies for dealing with roads, streets, bridges, water, light, police and other such local objects, and for administering under the federal laws, education, public health, agriculture, local transportation, &c., whilst the civil and criminal laws now existing in each colony would continue in force until amended, and all laws consolidated, under federal legislation. Further, all existing debts of each colony would be taken over by the federation, which would have wide powers to incur obligations for the purposes of development, whilst the municipal councils would, under federal authorization, have limited borrowing powers for local purposes.

#### *Commercial Relations with Canada.*

The present preferential agreement between the British West Indies and Canada, which is effective for ten years from 2nd June, 1913, and in which Jamaica, British Honduras, and the Bahamas did not join, provides for a reduction of one fifth in the duties on certain scheduled articles; preferences given in sugar, molasses and flour; and remission of duties on cocoa beans, limes, and lime juice. These concessions have not, since then, appeared sufficiently important to attract much attention



in Canada generally, under the conditions prevailing here, where the field, fruit and forest products have found large, convenient markets in the United Kingdom and the United States, and manufacturers were almost entirely engrossed with the profitable home market. Much more was required to be done, not only in making attractive concessions, but in facilitating frequent and quick transportation from producer to consumer, and in disseminating information as to markets and methods among the mercantile community, which in Canada was somewhat unacquainted with the foreign trade. The war has, however, unexpectedly, thrown open to us a large foreign business, and there is more eagerness on the part of our manufacturers and merchants for expansion in that direction. The time is therefore opportune for considering how enlarged trade with the West Indian possessions can, with mutual advantage, be promoted. Except in the case of sugar and molasses, Canada is not, at present, a very large direct importer from the British West Indies, and these colonies look, in turn, more largely to the United States than to either the United Kingdom or Canada for most of their ordinary requirements. A phase of commercial union, under which the internal development of each country would be stimulated, appears to be the most reasonable course. If Canada has, however, to deal with fifteen separate governments now embraced under the term British West Indies, each with its own distinctive views, it is very clear that commercial union will scarcely be possible, but it would be within measurable range, if the negotiations are conducted with a federal government with its broader views of the needs and capabilities of the federation as a whole.

The most obvious consideration is that, as each federation would have important natural products which the other requires, the initial line of freedom of trade between them lies there, and that Canada should admit, free of customs duties, unrefined sugar, molasses, raw cotton, cocoa beans, cocoanuts, copra, cohune nuts, coffee beans, oranges, shaddocks, lemons, limes, raw lime juice, pineapples, bananas, ginger, nutmeg, pimento, sisal hemp, chicle, sweet potatoes, yams, rice, raw tobacco, asphalt, unmanufactured lumber and dyewoods, raw rubber, balata, raw hides, and minerals in the ore and matte, with a special duty equal to the bounty against bounty-fed products of other nations; whilst the British West Indies should



similarly admit, free of duty, wheat, oats and other grains, flour, apples and other northern fruit, whether natural, dried or canned, peas, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables whether natural, dried or canned, coal and coke, smoked, dried or canned fish, condensed milk, butter, cheese, fertilizers, unmanufactured lumber, and machinery for the development of the country, including agricultural and mining machinery and implements, and material and machinery for dredging, railway construction and operating, water and steam power development and electrical transmission for use for light, heat, and agricultural and manufacturing purposes. All other articles, unless already admitted free, imported into either federation from the other, should be charged a very low rate of duty, provided that that rate is, in turn, very much less than that charged against the imports from foreign nations. Included in this free list are some articles, like fish, fruit and vegetables in the dried and canned states and even unrefined sugar, molasses and flour, which are important contributors to the customs revenue of some of the governments, and about which there may be some division of opinion. Whilst they are not absolutely raw products, they can be regarded as, in a sense, partially prepared in order to meet transport or climatic conditions, or to suit the requirements of the manufacturer at the place of consumption, or of the consumer, as the case may be. Questions may also arise in regard to these and other products, in connection with any system of preferences within the Empire which Imperial Conferences may adopt, but these would not affect the general principle of commercial union between these two federations.

It may be said, in general terms, of British West Indian products, and of Canada's capacity to absorb them, if the proper arrangements are effected, that—taking 1913, before the war, as a normal year—Canada imported, from all countries, towards twice the value in the coffee, more than twice it in the rice, one and a half times in the sugar, and about an equal amount in the aggregate value of the bananas, oranges, lemons and limes, which were exported to all countries from the British West Indies: that although the latter's exports of cocoa were more than three times what the Dominion appeared then to require, the consumption of this article, like sugar and coffee, is on the large increase: that whilst pineapples and cocoanuts have not, as yet, entered largely into our Canadian require-

ments, importations are yearly advancing, and now aggregate in numbers towards nine millions: that tea and raw tobacco, for both of which the climate and soil of some parts of the British West Indies are well suited together represent a sum, in the Dominion's customs entries, nearly equal to the entire sugar exports of these tropical colonies: that our requirements in raw rubber probably in value now equal, if they do not exceed, the whole exports of sugar from British Guiana, where the Para rubber trees are destined to find a home as suitable as has, for so long a time, been experienced by the sugar cane: whilst of American raw cotton, of a grade, it is believed, British Guiana could grow, Canada takes annually about forty thousand tons.

The official trade returns of Canada do not at all indicate the true relations of its business with the British West Indies, as, except in the instances of sugar and molasses, much the larger proportion of West Indian products are purchased by our merchants in the New York and Boston markets. This is chiefly due to the absence of frequent and quick transportation facilities at sea, and of fast express, through freight trains between Ontario points on the one hand, and Halifax and St. John on the other, timed to meet the steamships. The slow service has had an equally deterrent effect on the shipment of Canadian products from the interior cities of the country to the British West Indies. If commercial union is to be a success, a great improvement in these transport services is necessary, and it is suggested, as conducing to this, that the advantage of freedom from duties should only be conceded to direct importations.

That Canadian capital and Canadian personal activity will be directed in a large measure to plantation, lumbering, mining, railway, water power, electrical and suitable manufacturing enterprises in the British West Indies, as a consequence of their federation and commercial union with Canada, there can be no question. This would mean large and continuous shipments of machinery and other material from Canadian factories to aid in this development. And the effects would be even more extended, as the much better facilities and the broader markets, would also largely increase the business of the distributing centres—in British Guiana for Dutch Guiana, French Guiana, and Brazil requirements, in Trinidad for the Vene-



zuela traffic, and in British Honduras for Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico needs.

The heavy financial demands which the war has made, will cause governments to pause before parting with any present important resources of revenue, but, in this instance, not only are concessions inevitable, if an agreement is to be reached, but both countries could well afford to make them in the interests of the greatly larger business which federation and commercial union would develop between them, and of the expansion which would follow in agricultural and other production in the British West Indies. Should compensation in revenue be necessary, there are numerous other sources from which it could be derived, including the continued importations from abroad which would follow a larger production and consumption, and the newer methods of raising revenue which the war has brought about.

Apart from the material aspect, there is, in the accomplishment of both of these suggested proposals, a broad imperial view. Federation of these now separated colonies would not only mean greater concentration of effort in the development of their resources, but it would add one more Dominion to the Empire, and one more unit in its financial and business strength and prestige, whilst in the launching of the federation on its career as this new imperial unit, Canada, in conceding commercial union, would give direct practical aid in further cementing the Empire.

The complete federal union of the British West Indies with Canada has been suggested, but, whilst the sea barrier is now of less importance, race and trade problems would arise. Out of a population of about 2,100,000, the white people in these tropical colonies are represented by less than five per cent, the remainder being chiefly blacks, and East Indian coolies, but including some Chinese and native Indians. With federal union, all of these would become citizens of Canada, and entitled to establish themselves throughout the country. More than this, for the further development of some of these colonies, a largely increased immigration of the East Indians and probably of the Chinese, is necessary. Are we prepared in Canada for more race problems? Again, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Trinidad, Jamaica and British Honduras depend in trade very largely on the extensive market of the United



States, and are aided in this by frequent and effective steamship services. Under a federal union with Canada, these colonies would lose some of the facilities of this almost unlimited market close at hand, and probably, would be further disturbed by the adoption of the Canadian customs tariff. Commercial union would leave this United States market still open to them, unhampered by the effects of Canadian tariffs, whilst offering the same additional market here, which, in view of the great possibilities of British West Indian development, would prove most valuable.

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## MEDICINE IN THE TALMUD.

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THE history of medicine must necessarily start with an early period of Greek civilization; but it not with a detailed study of medicine that we are here concerned. In the following few pages we shall endeavour to give a detailed account of several passages in the Talmud referring to the art of medicine. Since there are no references to medical books left from the ancient Judean civilization or medical schools in the Talmud, we can safely assume that the art of healing was transmitted from father to son, as in the case of Abii. This Talmudic medical knowledge was based upon tradition, observation of diseases, dissection of the human body and experiments upon animals.

“Down to the time of Jacob, sickness was unknown; but Jacob prayed for it. Down to the time of Elisha, recovery from sickness was unknown, but he prayed for it; for it is said (II Kings xiii: 14): ‘Now Elisha was sick of his sickness, whereof he died; consequently he must have had another sickness.’”

Contrary to the general belief, medical practice was not in the hands of the Rabbis, but there existed a medical profession similar to that of modern times. Several passages in the Talmud bear direct reference to the rules and restrictions placed upon these practitioners. The law required that every city have at least one physician, and that his office be situated in a quiet locality. No physician was allowed to practice without permit. In cases of assault, it was necessary for a physician to testify before the Sanhedrin, as to injuries inflicted upon the assaulted. Corporal punishment was inflicted only under strict supervision of a physician. That physicians received large fees is evident from the common saying “A physician who professes to cure for nothing is often worth nothing.”

The Rabbis at times attempted cures by means of amulets, for we read that questioned as to which was an approved amulet, they answered: “One which has affected three cures whether it be one of written characters or one of roots; whether for a serious or for an ordinary patient; whether the

patient had already an attack of epilepsy, or whether he only belongs to a family subject to it; such an amulet may be tied and untied on the Sabbath, even in a public place, provided it be suspended from an ornamental chain and a ring, so that the object in wearing it does not seem to be remedial, but ornamental."

Should a patient desire something not prescribed by the physician, the Talmud demands that the desire of the patient be satisfied, inasmuch as "the heart knows its own bitterness."

Throughout the thirty-six volumes which comprise the Talmud, we find innumerable cures for all bodily diseases. For all complaints of the head, eyes, mouth, teeth and breath, the following prescriptions are prescribed. (a) "He that eats carroway seed habitually, suffers no headaches." (b) "A wide step deprives a man of a five hundredth part of his eyesight." "Walk not too much for it will affect the eyes." "Asparagus is good for the eyes." "Bad bread, fresh bread, beverages and pungent vegetables deprive a five thousandth part of the eyesight." "Honey and other sweet things, efficacious in restoring the light of one's eyes." "Mangold is good for the eyes." "Whoever is eased by Jaundice (by way of remedy) may be fed with asses' flesh." (c) "Whoever suffers from mouth disease may have dung administered to him on the Sabbath." (d) "A piece of salt is a remedy for a toothache." "Milt is good for the teeth; leeks are injurious for the teeth." "Pepper is good for toothache, as well as for offensive breath." (e) "Again pepper is a remedy for offensive breath." "Rav Mari recorded that Rabbi Yochanan had said: "He that is in the habit of eating lentils, once every thirty days, keeps quinsy from the house; but they should not be eaten every day, because in that case, they affect the breath injuriously."

For chest diseases, sucking the milk from the udder of a goat was advised. Goat milk is still a common therapeutic measure in some countries. A more specific cure for tuberculosis was field-fennel, mint, worm-wood, savory and hyssop in water.

"The dried extracts of a white dog are applied for pleurisy." "Asparagus and mangold were considered good for the heart," but mustard although used as a preventative for illness was considered injurious to this organ if taken too often. "Whoever is in the habit of eating mustard once every thirty



days, keeps sickness from his house; but let him not eat it every day, because it is injurious to the heart." Since the physician said "any pain rather than that in the heart," it is most natural that they should prescribe measures to ward off this dread disease. Accordingly, we read that to stand too long is injurious to the heart.

Field-fennel, mint, worm-wood, savory and hyssop in wine were prescribed as cures for asthma. Rav Papa said he tried the above without use; when a certain merchant advised him to take a cup filled with water, put in it a handful of honey which had been previously disposed to the stars and drink it, he did so and was cured.

"The most fertile cause of bodily complaints is abundance of blood; the best of all remedies is wine, and when no wine is to be had, other medicines are in request." The drawing of blood from the veins has at all times been a means of guarding against sickness. The Rabbis have taught: "He that draws blood from his veins should not taste milk, cheese, onions and cresses." Abii prescribed in the case of man having tasted any of these: "Let him mix a quart of vinegar with a quart of wine and drink it, and if he turns aside (to relieve nature) let him do so on the East side of the town." "To get rid of boils say, Bazbaziah, Masmasiah, Cacasiah, Sharlai, Armalei. These bad angels that were sent to the land of Sodan, etc."

Honey and other sweet things were prescribed as remedies after intense suffering from hunger. "Whoever suffers from the effects of intense hunger, let him eat honey and other sweet things." Leeks, all animal foods and small fish, were thought to fatten, augment and strengthen the whole human body. Raw vegetables were considered injurious, for we read that "all vegetables eaten raw mar the complexion; all unripe or insufficiently prepared eatables are injurious." Turnips were also regarded as injurious. Those addicted to sedentary habits, often suffer from relaxation of the bowels, the haemorrhoids. The Rabbis regarded death from relaxation of the bowels as a most fitting end for the righteous. The following extracts from the Talmud might be cited in this connection. "Who are usually in ill health? The Rabbis." "Rabbi Cheyah who visited a Rabbi on his death-bed, and found him weeping, reminded him by way of consolation of an old tradition which said among other things, that to die of relaxation of the bowels,

was a good omen, because the majority of the righteous died of that complaint." Rabbi Yehudah said: The primitive saints used to suffer about twenty days before their death from relaxation of the bowels, which purged and purified them, for the world to come; for it is said: "As the fining pot for silver and the furnace for gold, and a man according to his prayers." Rabbi Yosi exclaimed: "May my portion be among those who die of relaxation of the bowels; for the master has said, the majority of the righteous die of that complaint." Sedentary habits were not considered the only means of causing haemorrhoids, for we read "Haemorrhoids are induced by eating cane leaves, vine leaves, and the tendrils, such unsalted parts of slain cattle that have a rough surface, the vertebrae of fish, salt fish, not sufficiently cooked, the lees of wine, etc."

According to the Rabbis "There are three kinds of dropsy; that caused by vicious indulgence results in corpulence, that produced by famine ends in inflation, and that caused by witchcraft induces leanness."

Fat meat, roasted on coals, and undiluted wine are mentioned in the Talmud as remedies for colds. Although these would appear rather crude remedies judged in the light of modern medical science, they met the needs of that day. Rav Amaram the holy, was seized with a cold, caught through the mischevius conduct of the domestics of the Head of the Captivity, who were spiteful to him on account of the trouble he gave them by his religious scrupulousness. Knowing that they would do just the reverse of what he asked them, he ordered them to get him lean meat and diluted wine, and he received what he actually wanted—fat meat and undiluted wine. When Gotha the daughter of the Head of the Captivity heard of his illness, she ordered a bath for him, where he remained until the water turned red from his perspiration and his body was a mass of blotches. For shivers after child-birth, field fennel, mint, worm-wood, savory and hyssop in spirits were prescribed. Sleeping in the moonlight during the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month in the summer season, and eating beef with turnips, was thought to cause fever. The following are several Talmudic prescriptions for the cure of this dread malady. "Rabbi Yochanan prescribes for burning fever: Take a knife made wholly of iron and attach a papyrus fibre to the nearest bramble-bush; cut off a piece in the first day and say: "And



the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire," etc. (Ex. iii: 2). The next day cut off another piece and say: "The Lord saw that he (the fever) turned aside;" and the third day: "Draw not hither;" and bending low, say: "Bush, bush the Holy One, blessed be He! caused His shechinah to rest upon thee, not because thou art the highest, but because thou art the lowest of all trees; and as thou didst see the fire of Hananiah, Michael, and Azariah, and didst flee from it, so see the fire (fever) of so and so and flee from it." Abii said, "he had it from his mother: if the malady be the effect of an excessively hot temperature of several days' standing, cut up a black hen, longitudinally, and apply it to the upper part of the head, after it had been closely shaven; and when it holds firmly to the skin, let the patient be placed up to his neck in water till he feels faint. Let him then be taken out and kept quiet, and be given lean meat roasted on coals, and diluted wine." Abii elsewhere continues the following as one of the best prescriptions for those who are in continuous fever. "Take a brand new zouz and secure its weight in sea-salt, which suspend with a papyrus fibre round the neck, so that it rests in the hollow in front. If this has no effect, watch where two or more roadways meet, and seize the first big ant that carries some load on its back; thrust it into a brazen tube, stop up the opening of the latter with lead, and put besides as many seals upon it as you can, and whilst shaking it, say to the ant: 'My load upon thee, and thine upon me'." "Rav Acha the son of Rav Humah observed to Rav Ashi (the last two were the compilers of the Gemara): "But may not the ant have already been loaded with another man's fever?" "True. 'Let him say: My load and thine be upon thee. If this has no effect, take a new small earthen vessel, and going to the nearest stream, say: 'Stream, stream, lend me a vessel full of water for a guest who is on a visit with me. Wave it seven times round your head, and throwing it backwards say again: 'Stream, stream, take back thy borrowed water: for my guest has come and gone the same day'." "Rav Hunah said: For tertian fever take seven small grapes from seven different vines, seven threads from seven different webs, seven nails from seven different bridges, seven quantities of ashes from seven different stoves, seven quantities of pitch from seven different ships, seven quantities of dust from seven different door-holes, seven grains of carroway



seeds, seven hairs from the under jaw of an old dog, and tie them to the hollow in the front of the neck with papyrus fibre."

Lachrymose eyes, running sores, flowing saliva and attraction of flies were regarded as certain symptoms of leprosy. Abii on the authority of his mother, suggests the following cures for this malignant disease. "Boil the leaves of hard rockroses, the bark of nut trees, the scrapings of animal skins, trefoil, and the shells of unripe dates in a large quantity of water. Remove the patient to a chamber built of marble, and therefore air-proof, or, failing this, into one of which the walls are seven bricks and a half thick, or about twenty-two hand breadths. When there, pour three hundred bowls of this concoction upon his head till the pate is sufficiently softened to allow of the application of the operator's knife. The brain laid bare, take four leaves of myrtle and insert one under each of the feet of the insect (which is the cause of the disease). This will prevent it, on being seized, from burying its nails in the membrane of the brain. Remove it with a pair of tongs, and throw it into the fire; otherwise it will find its way back to the brain." The infectious nature of some diseases was recognized and the fly was suspected of being a carrier of a certain form of leprosy. In Babylonia great care was taken to prevent infectious diseases. Rabbi Chanena said: "Why is there not a certain infectious disease in Babylon? Because the inhabitants are in the habit of eating mangold and drinking a beverage prepared of corn-rose. Why are there not lepers in Babylon? Because they are in the habit of eating and drinking the above vegetables and bathing in the Euphrates." "Rabbi Yochanan used to warn against contact with the flies which clung to such sufferers. Rabbi Zera would not sit where a current of air blew from the direction they happened to be in. Rabbi Elazer would not enter their tents. But Rabbi Yehoshua ben Laive used to sit among them whilst engaged in the study of the Law, which occupation he deemed an infallible disinfectant."

Alcohol was considered a cause of nervous diseases, and we read that "a man who drinks excessively new wine from the wine press, gets curdaicus (he is not in possession of his senses)." Lean meat roasted on coals and diluted wine was prescribed as a cure for insanity. The end of the part of the

dog's liver was prescribed for those suffering from the bite of a mad dog.

In spite of the fact that the ancient Hebrew physician had more or less approximating remedies for the various maladies of the day, yet according to Samuel, they were unable to devise cures for the following three maladies: For that produced by eating unripe dates, before meals, by girding one's loins with a girdle of wet linen; and by falling asleep after meals without having previously walked a distance of at least four miles.

Surgery was not unknown to the physicians of Judea. There is a record of a major abdominal operation upon Rabbi Elazer on account of extreme obesity. He was given an anesthetic (Sama Deshinta) the abdomen was incised and several pounds of fat removed.

The ancient Hebrews were by no means ignorant of the laws of hygiene. They enforced a rigid meat and food inspection and the dietary laws originally State pure food institutions were later preserved as religious ordinances.\*

Duties to the sick were not forgotten and it was deemed a necessary duty to visit those on sick-beds. When Rav Chelbo was sick Rav Chanana went out and cried: "Rav Chelbo is not well, will nobody visit him. Was it not the case he said that when one of Rabbi Akiba's disciples was taken ill, and none of the wise men would visit him, that Rabbi Akiba went into it; and because he thus honored and tended him, the patient recovered? And that he afterwards cried: Rabbi I am indebted to thee for my life. And did not Rabbi Akiba then say, that whoever does not visit the sick, sheds as it were blood. Rabbi Yehuda said: "Three require watching (against evil spirits). A sick man (whose planet is obscured)." In another place it says, a sick man. Although the study of the law under ordinary circumstances was regarded as man's crowning duty, yet it was thought inexpedient to perform this sacred duty in the vicinity of a sick bed. Rabbi Yochanan said: "Isaiah set up a seat of learning at the entrance of Hezekiah's house during his sickness. This practice should be adopted whenever a disciple of the wise is laid on a bed of ill-

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\*This statement would provoke considerable discussion among modern scholars; many would contend that the religious element in the Talmud is the earliest.—*Ed.*



ness. But it has been deemed inexpedient because Satan (the angel of death, says Rashi) attracted by the disputes, may attack the patient."

JULIUS J. PRICE.

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*Editor's Note.* Julius J. Price, Ph.D. (Rabbi of University Avenue Synagogue, Toronto), the author of the foregoing article is a diligent student of Talmudic literature and the author of monographs on other subjects such as "The Laws of Barter and Sale in the Talmud", etc. Some readers may ask what is the Talmud? One writer (Dr. Maurice H. Harris) referring to the absurd notion current in the Middle Ages that the Talmud was a man says, "The mediaeval priest or peasant was perhaps wiser than he knew. Almost might we say that Talmud was Man, for it is a record of the doings, the beliefs, the usages, the hopes, the sufferings, the patience, the humor, the mentality, and the morality of the Jewish people for half a millenium." "Ostensibly it is the *corpus juris* of the Jews from about the first century before the Christian era to about the fourth after it." This great body of oral teaching grew up around the ancient Scriptures and attained a sacredness from the view that it also could be traced back to the original prophets and lawgivers. Later, on account of its great volume and the persecutions suffered by the Jews, it also had to be *written* if it was to be preserved. The Talmud, this strange collection of traditions, laws, stories and sermons, has had its days of persecution. Louis IX is said to have caused the burning of twenty-four cartloads of Talmuds in Paris, and Johann Reuchlin (1510 A.D.) is reported to have said, "Do not condemn the Talmud before you understand it. Burning is no argument. Instead of burning all Jewish literature, it were better to found chairs in the universities for its exposition." The following words by Dr. Harris sum up the matter for us briefly and in an impartial spirit.

"What is the value of the Talmud for the Jew? Certainly its greatest value was rendered in the Middle Ages, when literature was scant and copies of the few books in existence were rarer. When the Jew was shut out of the world's pleasure and the world's culture and barred up in Ghetto slums, then it was that the Talmud became his recreation and his consolation, feeding his mind and his faith. In this way it not only became in the Middle Ages a picture of the Jew but largely formed his character. It made a keen dialectician, tempered with a thoughtful and poetic touch. It fostered his patience and his humor and kept vivid his ideals. It linked him with the Orient while living in the Occident and made him a bridge between the old and the new."

"To the world at large it has great value archaeologically. Here are preserved ancient laws, glint lights on past history, forgotten forms in the classic tongues, and pictures of old civilization. No one criticism can cover the whole work. It is so many-sided. It includes so many different standards of worth and value. If we take it as a whole, it is good, it is bad and indifferent; it is trash and it is treasure; it is dust and it is diamonds; it is potsherd and it is pearls; and in the hands of impartial scholars, it is one of the great monuments of mental achievement, one of the world's wonders."



## THE LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ELIJAH STORIES.

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THE Elijah Cycle of stories is contained in six chapters of the first and second Books of Kings, namely, the 17th, 18th, 19th and 21st chapters of the former and chapters 1 and 2 of the latter, and depicts the achievements of the greatest of the non-literary Hebrew prophets.

Perhaps the quality in these stories which first strikes the eye is their high individuality. They are sharply distinguished from the other Biblical documents among which they stand. To pass from the sixteenth chapter of the first book of Kings to the seventeenth chapter is to pass not merely into a new province but into a new climate. In the sixteenth of Kings one finds a mere string of chronicles, the boniest outline of facts, the thinnest possible narrative, remarkable poverty of language, and in the seventeenth chapter one finds life and color and grace—the difference between a map and a picture. One could no more expect these to come from the same hand than he could expect Bacon to write the plays of Shakespeare, and so achieve a miracle of personality.

In regard to the literary excellence of these stories there has never been any difference of opinion; they have been universally recognized as masterpieces, they belong to the best performances of Hebrew descriptive writing. The hero is marvellous, the events are marvellous, and the author hardly less so. These stories, to begin with, have the supreme merit of being interesting. The Sunday School teacher finds them a pleasant oasis after struggling past the arid records of Baasha and Zimri and Omri. The biographer of Elijah cannot write a dull sentence. This is a result both of the nature of his mind and of his skill as a writer. Although he writes in prose, the author is really a great poet, and his stories reflect the most intense light of the imagination; hence his narrative naturally breaks up into pictures or scenes or tableaux, all sharply separated from one another; they might hang like a row of paintings on the wall, and there would be about a dozen of them altogether, and you might even change the order of one of them here and there without seriously impairing the general effect.

The Elijah author moreover is not a poet alone but a great literary artist as well. He obtains the greatest results by the simplest means. Like Thackeray he can paint a situation almost with a word. Further, although he gives the impression of great power of style he really does not use many new words. Any person with a fair knowledge of Hebrew can read these stories easily. And although his pictorial gift is so striking he uses only the plainest terms, forms of expression; in all his stories there is only one figure of speech, as when Elijah asks the people why limp ye on two knees, where however the verb used is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament, and the meaning is therefore obscure. This absence of figurative speech is of course characteristic of the best narrative writing of the Old Testament; the Hebrew imagination, at least in prose, did not usually blossom into metaphors and similes, but transfused itself through the entire composition. Let us not think, however, that because the Elijah author uses his materials with the painless ease of a giant he employs no conscious art, on the contrary he employs consummate art. Note, first his effective employment of the concrete. When he wishes to depict the widespread misery of the long drought he does not exhaust pages of description, but he tells us that the deep water courses near the Jordan dried up; he shows the poor widow hunting for little fuel to prepare her last meal; he lets us see the king and his minister scouring the country for the last residue of fodder. He never tells us that Elijah was a great man, but he always builds his stage so that the main light gleams on the forehead of his hero; indeed he is very jealous about admitting many persons on the stage at the same time. In the first story there are but two actors, the king and the prophet; in the second, the prophet and the widow; then the prophet, the widow and her son. In the eighteenth chapter there are the king and his minister, then the prophet and the minister, then prophet and king. In the Mt. Carmel scene the people are present, it is true, but they are mostly a silent, dark, unindividualized mass, and really serve as upholstering for the author's stage. The prophet Elijah is nearly always in the centre of the picture and if he steps aside for a moment, as in the story of Naboth, it is only that he may be brought in again with more impressive majesty. Lastly, in this connection, we cannot fail to note the effective use of climax. Elijah first asks



the widow for a little water, and then makes a severer demand; he first meets the king's minister, then the king himself, and then finally on Mt. Carmel, the solitary champion of Jahwe confronts an apostate king, idolatrous priests and a backsliding people. In the Horeb scene the prophet is ministered to by an angel, and then Jahwe himself appears. We will not dwell on what might be called the vitality of these narratives, their remarkable energy and vivacity; their vigorous onward sweep; the prophet comes into view like a lightning flash and is gone as quickly; whence he comes no one knows, nor whither he goes, but he always appears precisely at the psychological moment, and always says the right thing. Greater strength or momentum could not be conceived.

But as yet we have but touched the less important qualities of these stories; we have not yet considered the higher literary features, those which belong to the realm of emotion and morality. We call these stories, but he who sees in them nothing but stories, perceives only their body, but not the soul. These are not mere tales, but national and religious epics, and the author is not just a pleasing entertainer, but an ardent patriot and a great teacher; and yet although his narratives throb with passion, such is the manliness of his spirit that there is not one hysterical word in them from beginning to end; and although a deep religious purpose dominates all his work, yet there is no moralizing in it at all. Such fervor and such restraint are rarely combined. Here is earnestness without morbidness, and zeal without extravagance. The heat is felt, but the flame is unseen.

How did these stories originate? What is their literary parentage and history? How did they come to form part of our Bible? In answer to these questions we would suggest that there were probably three main stages in the growth of the Elijah stories—first, the period of oral tradition; second, the time when they were first written down; third, the time when they were fitted into their present framework in the book of Kings. It is easy to imagine what first gave these stories birth. They sprang from the loving admiration which encircled the memory of a wonderful man. A great hero had lived; and there never lived a great hero who did not have stories told about him. Who were the first authors of these tales? The community. The people of Israel. They would



retail these wonderful achievements in their homes, throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is quite possible that the stories began to circulate in the lifetime of Elijah himself. And after his death they would be increased in number till they would comprise a very considerable body of folklore probably much larger than that which has come down to us, and they would be told with an interest that never failed, because as the years rolled away Elijah became to Israel the embodiment of all her hatred of foreign domination and all her loyalty to Jevohah; and any man who has once become the incarnation of a nation's love of liberty can never be forgotten. The story of William Tell has been demolished by scientific historians again and again, but the Swiss people will not give him up because William Tell has become the soul of Switzerland and the people cannot give him up. Elijah became the soul of Israel, and the popular memory held him fast. But the time came when these stories were committed to writing and turned into literature by an author who is not known to us, but who was one of the most gifted writers that ever lived. He gathered together these floating fragments of tradition, grouped them, spiritualized them, and arranged them in his imperishable prose. We have only a hint or two as to when this author did his work, but it was likely not more than a century after the time of Elijah, because the fact that he had no word of condemnation for the calf or bull worship instituted by Jeroboam suggests a high antiquity. About the beginning of the eighth century is a likely date. The time finally came when the present book of Kings was compiled. It is generally believed that there were two main recensions or redactions of the book of Kings, one shortly before the exile, and the second during or after the exile. When the first redactor was collecting his materials for the reign of Ahab he had certain documents at hand. He had the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel. He had an account of Ahab's wars against the Syrians as found in chapters 20 and 22 of our present 1st book of Kings. He found also the Biography of Elijah the prophet. He used all of these only in part. From the Chronicles indeed he takes as usual only a few meagre notes. From the Elijah Biography it is almost certain he has left some things out. There is no introduction and there is no conclusion, because the story of Elijah's ascent to heaven is clearly taken

from the Biography of Elisha. Moreover the redactor not only left certain things out, but he put certain things in. He evidently belonged to the northern Kingdom, and he did not read history precisely as the biographer of Elijah did. He was a deuteronomist and his central slogan was that the command to worship in one central sanctuary had come down from ancient times, had been persistently disregarded, and that this neglect had been the cause of Israel's downfall. The chief sinner in this respect was Jeroboam the son of Nebat because he established places of worship outside of Jerusalem, and every king is good or bad according as he walked in the ways of Jeroboam, and of course every king of Israel was foredoomed to be bad because he could not worship Jahwe outside his own dominions. Hence the redactor's opinion about any king might have differed very widely from that which was held by the king's own contemporaries, and this appears particularly true in the case of King Ahab. Usually the redactor shows great restraint in altering the text of his documents, but undoubtedly here and there he has completely replaced the original words with others of his own, thus the words of Elijah to Ahab in the vineyard of Naboth can hardly be those of the original author. To a striking extent, however, he leaves the old text intact and sets down his own views afterwards in the form of an appendix, and that is the reason why his insertions are generally most numerous at the end of a chapter.

In concluding this discussion of the literary characteristics and structure of the Elijah cycle of stories, we must attempt to discharge an important task, we must fix the class of literature to which they belong. Are they fact or fiction? Are they authentic history, or are they partly fabulous, or are they purely fabulous? To this question we would say that the evidence seems decisive that these stories are not pure invention. Elijah was a real person. There are at least two reasons for thinking so. It is difficult, first of all, to believe that a mere name could have left the vast impression on the Hebrew mind that Elijah did. When there is so much smoke there must be flame. Where the shadow is so tremendous there must be some substance behind it. And again the existence of such a man as Elijah is attested by the fact that his name is mentioned in a document that bears every mark of being historical, that is the document which tells the story of



Jehu's revolt. As for Ahab he is even mentioned in the Assyrian records. It seems certain that the stories are centred about real persons. On the other hand these stories can hardly be history in the strict sense of the term. There are three lines of evidence which lead to this conclusion, first, the stories have the characteristics which usually distinguish legendary compositions. Second, the stories conflict with the collateral historical chapters in the first book of Kings. In Kings 20 and 22 Ahab is not a worshipper of Baal; he is not a persecutor of the religion of Jahwe. In this paper I have only to deal with the first of these lines of evidence, that which bears upon their literary character. Third, these stories duplicate in part those of Elisha, suggesting a process of borrowing.

The first legendary characteristic of these stories is their appetite for the marvellous. They are steeped in miracle. Now in the Old Testament authentic history as such is usually sparing in its record of the supernatural. In 2 Samuel, Ch. 9: 20 we have what is generally recognized as one of the most reliable historical documents in the Old Testament and there is not one miracle in it. But in the Elijah stories the hero is marvellous and the events are marvellous. The prophet is fed by ravens; he is kept alive by a barrel of meal, and a cruse of oil, daily renewed; he calls back life into the dead body. In the contest on Mt. Carmel he calls down fire from heaven, he hears the rain coming before a cloud has dimmed the sky, he runs before the royal chariot from Carmel to Jezreel, a distance of sixteen miles, at the highest speed to which horses could be driven. These describe not a man but a demigod. Again, apart from the supernatural element altogether, these stories abound in those astonishing and improbable situations which characterize legendary literature generally—thus, we have a drought which extends over years—three years and a half according to the New Testament—and that is an unparalleled occurrence. Again King Ahab is so anxious to find and punish Elijah that he hunts him through every nation and kingdom in the world, and takes an oath of all of them that Elijah had not been with them, and then when he does actually meet Elijah he not only refrains from hurting him, but allows himself to be lectured and browbeaten, and when Elijah bids him bring the whole nation to Mt. Carmel he meekly submits. Elijah slays the 450 priests of Baal evidently with his own hand, which is



rather a heroic feat. We might mention other extraordinary situations such as that of a great king and his prime minister going out personally to look for fodder—and that of a whole nation being gathered on a single hill. Again in the Elijah stories not the king but the prophet fills the centre of the stage. Now the old historical writings (strictly) of the Hebrews dealt chiefly with kings and their wars. It is true the prophets occasionally appeared especially when it is told how they interfered in affairs of state. But only incidentally do the ancient historians refer to the prophets. Genuine historical writing which expressly concerns itself with prophets we have for the first time only in the book of Jeremiah. Finally, legends are usually careless about names and dates and places, and so it is in the Elijah stories—thus it is not stated where Elijah had his first interview with King Ahab; it is not even told just how long the drought lasted; the name of the widow of Zareptah is not given, nor is that of her son; it is not told how long Elijah stayed with them, nor at the brook Cherith. In the story of Naboth the author does not really seem to know or care whether the coveted vineyard was in Jezreel or Samaria; he explicitly states it was in Jezreel, and then Elijah is told to go and meet Ahab, who is in Samaria, in the vineyard of Naboth. Nothing is said of his parentage, or wife or child. This vagueness is distasteful to strict history, but acceptable in a popular narrative.

These tales are legends. They may not tell us exactly what Elijah did, but they tell us the kind of things he did, and the kind of things he longed to do, and the kind of things his countrymen and descendants wished him to do. They grew with the years. The loving hands of tradition played about each scene and fitted it out with its coat of many colors. They retain the essence of the prophet's work, idealized, glorified, and enlarged into the colossal.

They are work of fiction, then, in part. Shall they be less esteemed on that account? Shall they be branded as mere fairy-tales, and denied the rank of oracles of God? Can God speak to man through a legend? Have we ever realized how often God has spoken to men through fiction? Have we realized how that the best part of the world's literature is fiction? The best thing in the New Testament is the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and it is fiction. The second best

thing in the New Testament is the Parable of the Good Samaritan, and it is fiction. Even the sermon on the mount is fictitious in its present form; it is made up of utterances which our Saviour delivered at different periods of his ministry; no speaker could ever expect an audience to understand thought expressed in such condensed, concentrated fashion; but the present arrangement is more impressive from the reader's point of view than the original one would have been. The best thing in the Old Testament is the drama of Job, and that is fiction. The poems of Homer are possibly the best things in Greek literature, and the Aeneid in Latin, and the Beowulf in Anglo-Saxon, and Divine Comedy in Italian, and the plays of Shakespeare and the Paradise Lost of Milton in English, and Goethe's Faust in German, and they are all fiction. In every civilized country upon the earth the literary works showing the most religion, wisdom, beauty, genius and truth are so often fiction. One of the great achievements of modern Biblical Science is to show that God can speak to men in the Bible through fiction. That is one of the greatest and the bravest achievements of Modern Biblical Science. And there was absolutely no possibility of really understanding the Bible till that had been done.

We prize the Elijah stories even though they are legend and fiction. But there is an important fact to bear in mind. We prize the fiction only for the truth which is behind it. We are seeking for truth, and can be satisfied with nothing else. Now not only is it possible for a truth to be enshrined in a fiction, but it is particularly easy. And legend is a particularly convenient form in which a truth may be embalmed, concentrated, accentuated, and rendered imperishable. Legend is not lying, it leans upon a truth and we preserve it for that truth. And in the Bible the religious value of any document does not always depend upon its strict historicity. The stories about Abraham are not, I believe, strict history, but they contain more spiritual nutriment than all the historical records of the kings of Judah from Rehoboam to Zedekiah. And in the case of these wonderful Elijah stories we ask not merely are they true in the letter, but are they true in the spirit? We believe that they are, and we find more of God in them than in many an exact chronicle; in the story of the ravens we learn the loving ministry

of God; in that of the widow God's use of humble instruments; in that of the widow's son God's care for a mother's grief. In Mr. Carmel we beheld the essential simplicity and strength of truth as embodied in Elijah, and the essential artificiality and weakness of falsehood as embodied in the priests of Baal; and in the Horeb story we learn of God's comfort for the despairing, and we learn that Divinity dwells not in noise and violence but in gentleness and quietness, and we say that for the sake of the truth that is in these stories we will tolerate the fiction, indeed we will give thanks for the fiction, if by means of it the truth has come to us in a more attractive, more compelling, and more enduring form.

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## THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IN CANADA

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A FEW years ago, a distinguished English visitor, after taking a bird's eye view of Canada, declared that what was wrong with our politics was the lack of problems. We had been so favoured by fortune and our ancestors that all our difficulties of moment were solved, and if our parties and politicians were to be raised out of the ruck of personalities and office seeking, it was necessary to send some representatives to a federal parliament in London, there to grapple with the problems of India and the isles of the sea. Such a plan may or may not be desirable on other grounds, but few would agree today in defending it on these grounds. It would be an airy optimist who would urge that our railway problem, our racial problem, our financial problem, our problem of increasing production, our imperial and international issues, are tasks too small for the abilities of any political leaders we possess or may develop. Rarely have men been called on to face questions that need more careful handling, more thorough investigation, and more courageous solution. The life of our future Premiers will not be an easy one.

The purpose of this article is to present a brief summary of the main facts as to one of these problems, the language issue. The language question is not peculiar to Canada. It is found in almost every country where men of different tongues and of the different racial origins and ways of life which as a rule go with difference in speech, are living in forced or chosen partnership. It is the central, the symbolical issue, where these racial groups clash and contend. It is scarcely necessary to recall the frequency and bitterness of the struggles over language questions which have troubled Europe these many years, and particularly in that modern plain of Shinar, South Eastern Europe. Distinctions of language have been at once cause and effect of the intense sentiment of nationalism which has been one of the sources of the present war. But it is not necessary to go outside the bounds of our own country to realize the grave importance of the question.

We may first note the diversity and proportion of the various language groups in Canada, or rather, since no figures

as to the language spoken are available, of the various racial elements. Until the beginning of this century, practically only two languages were spoken in Canada, English and French. Today French is the mother tongue of slightly over two million Canadians. Though not appreciably recruited by immigration from overseas, Canadians of French descent have increased rapidly, over thirty fold in a century and a half, and by some four hundred thousand, or 25 per cent, in the decade between 1901 and 1911. Yet the proportion they form of the total population has remained almost stationary for many years; in 1881 they were 29.9 per cent; in 1891, 29.0; in 1901, 30.7 and in 1911, 28.5 per cent of the whole. The proportion of Canadians who trace their descent to British forbears is, it may be a surprise to note, barely more than half, and is decreasing. In 1881 Canadians of British descent amounted to 59 per cent of the whole, in 1901 to 57 and in 1911 to 54. It may be observed, also, that the proportion of people of English origin increased by two per cent in the last decade, while the Irish decreased four and the Scotch one per cent. When we note that the immigration in this decade from the United Kingdom, and of people of the British stock from the United States, was well over one million, and yet that the gain in the numbers of British stock at the end was little over 800,000, it is clear, considering the normal increase by birth, that there was a large leakage either of newcomers or of native-born, probably of both.

Turning to the newer Canadians, we find that the immigration authorities list Armenians, Austrians, Belgians, Bukovinians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Galicians, Germans, Hebrews of Austrian, German, Polish and Russian origin, Hindus, Hungarians, Icelanders, Italians, Japanese, Norwegians, Poles, Rumanians, Russians, Ruthenians, Servians, Swedes, Syrians, and Turks. Of these much the most important group are the Germans, who in 1911 were about 400,000 in number or 5.5 per cent of the whole population, a slightly smaller fraction than in 1901. The Germans of Western Ontario are descended chiefly from Mennonite settlers who came from Pennsylvania over a century ago; those of Eastern Ontario along the St. Lawrence are chiefly the descendants of German settlers who fought on the British side in the American revolution, while the Lunenburgers of



Nova Scotia were brought in by the British Government in the first years of the founding of the colony. There has, further, been a steady stream of immigrants direct from Germany, Austria, and the Baltic provinces of Russia, while the newcomers from the United States into the west have been perhaps one-fourth of German birth or descent. Next come Austro-Hungarians, classified loosely as Austrians, Hungarians, Bukowinians, Galicians and Ruthenians, constituting in all 130,000 or 1.8 per cent; and the Scandinavians, 107,000 or 1.5 per cent. There were 75,000 of Jewish origin, or at least so listed; 54,000 Dutch, 45,000 Italian, 43,000 "Russian", 33,000 Polish, 27,000 Chinese, and 16,000 negroes. No other racial element exceeded ten thousand in numbers. Just before the war about 25,000 Italians, 25,000 Russians, 18,000 Ruthenians, 10,000 Poles, 10,000 Jews, 5,500 Germans and 5,500 Chinese were entering our shores each year, as against, for example, 9,000 Irish or 29,000 Scotch, or 102,000 English from the United Kingdom. The 107,000 people arriving from the United States in 1913-14 were not classified according to racial origin. There are said to be more Jews in Montreal than in Jerusalem, and the North West is three times more Austro-Hungarian than Indian.

This diversity of racial origin has not, fortunately, meant a corresponding number of language problems. The newcomers vary immensely in racial tenacity, in individual ambition, in the extent to which they have burned their bridges behind them, in the pride they feel in the country of their origin, in their religion and their ecclesiastical shepherding, in their occupations, in the extent to which they settle in the towns or settle in the country, and in their tendency to hive apart in solid colonies or to mingle with the older peoples. Besides English and French, the only languages which show sufficient vitality or whose users are grouped in sufficient strength to count are German, Polish, and Ruthenian. The Greek and the Italian are too much birds of passage, or too much engrossed in city commercial activities and thus anxious to learn English, to give any trouble. Gaelic and Yiddish and the other tongues spoken in the Garden of Eden have not caused any serious difficulty.

This mingling of peoples brings about difficulties, and also opportunities, in many relationships. A complete study of



the question would involve an inquiry into the influence of racial and particularly of language diversity upon social relationships, upon religious life and work, upon trade union organization, upon relations between employers and employed, upon party organizations and methods, and on many other phases of our national life. In the present article, space permits the consideration of only one aspect of the question, the difficulties which have arisen within the field of government activity.

In the working of our federal government no serious problem has arisen. Here there is no question, as yet at least, except of English and French. No other tongue counts sufficient adherents in the Dominion as a whole to have the influence or the consideration sometimes received in provincial areas. The powers which our federal government possesses, to veto any provincial law, and to enforce the rights of provincial religious minorities with reference to education, make it possible to bring any controverted provincial issue before the federal parliament, but the direct contact of the Dominion authorities with education, the battleground of most language disputes, is small.

So far as concerns the relations of English and French in the federal sphere, a very satisfactory arrangement has been reached. It will be recalled that in accordance with Durham's and Sydenham's mistaken ideas of the possibility of rapid assimilation of the French-speaking inhabitants of Canada, the Act of Union in 1841 required that all writs, proclamations, reports, journals and public documents should be written and printed in the English language only, though French might be used in the debates. Four years later the Canadian parliament passed an unanimous address urging the removal of the restrictions on French, and in 1848 that language was put on an equality with English for all parliamentary transactions and records. When Confederation was effected, the same arrangement was continued. Article 133 of the B. N. A. Act provides:

"Either the English or French language may be used by any person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec, and both these Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of the Houses; and either of these Languages may be used by any Person or in Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of

Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both these Languages."

Parliamentary documents, then, are printed in both languages. Parliamentary debates and proceedings in the Supreme and Exchequer courts may be carried on in either language, but it is interesting to note that the very freedom to use French has to some extent taken away the desire to use it; French is hardly ever heard in federal courts, and in parliament much less frequently than thirty years ago.

A significant development occurred when the Naturalization Act was revised by the federal parliament in 1914. For the first time, that act prescribed an educational qualification for all candidates for naturalization. It was considered undesirable to admit to citizenship, and thus almost automatically to the exercise of the franchise, aliens who could not use a language familiar to their fellow-citizens. What was that language to be? Unanimously parliament accepted the proposal of the government that "an adequate knowledge of English or French" should be required.

Passing next to the provinces, we find so much diversity of problems and practice that it is necessary to take them up one by one or in groups. In practically every case the issue is as to the language to be used in the schools, though the question of the language to be used in court or in legislative proceedings is occasionally raised.

To begin with the Maritime Provinces. Here the problem is simplified by the fact that the recent immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, and in fact nearly all recent immigrants, have passed these provinces by. Since the century began, only one immigrant out of twenty-five made the provinces by the sea his home. Only three per cent of New Brunswick's population and four of Nova Scotia's are foreign-born, while British-born are three and eight respectively; "The Island" has only 'a trace' of either, its people being 98.4 per cent Canadian-born. When one contrasts these figures with the 37 per cent foreign-born in Saskatchewan, or the 43 per cent in Alberta, one realizes why it is that the provinces down by the sea have escaped both the rapid economic development



and the serious political problems which have elsewhere followed in the wake of the newcomers. The Maritime Province language situation, then, is simply one between English and French, with Gaelic in the offing. In each of the three provinces there is a large proportion of Acadians, descendants of the early French settlers. In Prince Edward Island they number 13,000, or 14 per cent; in Nova Scotia 50,000, or 11 per cent; and in New Brunswick 100,000, or 28 per cent.

While the language question and the religious question in the schools are legally and technically distinct, the connection in fact is so intimate that it is important to note, first, that there are no separate or denominational schools in any of the three provinces. Following Dr. Tupper's vigorous free school campaign in 1864, all three provinces adopted systems of free, compulsory and non-sectarian education. As a result of the outcry from the Roman Catholics which followed, a compromise was adopted by which religious instruction may be given after school hours, or, in Nova Scotia, during the school hours if none of the parents concerned object. As to language, every child is required to learn English, but in the case of children whose mother tongue is French, instruction in the lower forms is carried on in that tongue. Nova Scotia has adopted the most definite policy upon this matter. In 1902 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the adequacy of the teaching in the schools in Acadian districts. The gist of the Commission's report is found in the following paragraph:

"Your Commissioners find that the fundamental error in dealing with the French schools, which must be held responsible for many of their short-comings, has been the assumption that they must be taught exclusively in English. They find that with startling uniformity and persistency attempts have been made and are being made to educate children from French-speaking homes and with none but French-speaking playmates by means of the English language alone, sometimes from the lips of teachers who can speak nothing but English. They find from the testimony of experts that even were such teachers masters of the most approved modern methods of teaching a foreign language but meagre results could be anticipated from their best efforts under such conditions. They find that with the inexperienced, ill-taught and often otherwise incompetent teachers ordinarily available for employment in such schools the efforts, however conscientious, made to teach the children to speak English are, as might be anticipated, largely a failure. They find also that, while futile attempts to teach them English



are thus being put forth, the general education of French-speaking pupils is being more or less seriously or sometimes even totally neglected."<sup>1</sup>

Regulations were adopted in Nova Scotia based in the main on the recommendations of the Commission. A special inspector or visitor (himself an Acadian) is provided for the Acadian schools; brief summer courses are carried on to give French-speaking teachers a mastery of colloquial English; the use of French readers is permitted through the first four grades, or years, during which time the teacher is supposed to be teaching English colloquially so that after the fourth year all instruction can be carried on in English. French is not continued beyond that time in the public or elementary schools as a subject of study, any more than as the medium of instruction. Local trustees are free to employ English-speaking teachers who use nothing but English from the beginning. The other Maritime provinces have worked out somewhat less formally without the framing of any definite regulations a compromise which is substantially the same.

On the whole the Maritime Provinces seem to have solved the difficulty satisfactorily from the educational standpoint. They have also been less troubled by political agitation than the provinces further west. This may be because the population is stationary, not in constant flux and movement as it is elsewhere in Canada, or it may be because the Maritime Provinces are farther away from Montreal than Ontario is.

Next, Quebec. Here we have the most complete adoption of the denominational principle. There are no public or non-denominational schools. There are simply Roman Catholic schools and Protestant schools; Jews are by Quebec law considered Protestants, while other minorities are negligible in numbers and neglected in law. Each set of schools is practically independent, under the control of a Committee of the Council of Public Instruction, composed entirely of members of the corresponding religion. The Protestant minority is at liberty to manage its schools as it pleases, and to teach or decline to teach what it pleases, and so with the Catholic majority. As a matter of choice, nearly all the Protestant schools, being English-speaking, make English the language of instruction

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<sup>1</sup>See below, Reference 2, page 305.

throughout, but they have long included French as an optional subject of study, and since 1915 it has been a required subject of study from the fourth to the eleventh grade. In a few French Protestant schools French is the language of instruction, with English a subject of study. In the same way the great majority of the Catholic schools, being French-speaking, make French the language of instruction throughout, and include English as a subject of study, beginning it, however, in the first year of school. In a large number of Catholic schools in Irish or English communities, English is the language of instruction and French a subject of study from the first year. The situation is made less difficult by the fact that for the most part the racial elements are locally distinct. In the case of mixed communities of the same religion but of different tongue, no rigid rule or regulation exists. It has been considered that local good sense will generally prove sufficient to overcome any difficulty; if not, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, according to a circular issued in August, 1914, stands ready to withdraw the government grant if "justice is not done to the minority, whether English-speaking or French-speaking." The task of doing justice is facilitated by the fact that a local board, rural or urban, may have twenty or more schools under its jurisdiction. The pupils are distributed among different schools in the same municipality, or bilingual teachers are engaged. In Sherbrooke and Montreal there are some Roman Catholic schools in which one language is used as the language of instruction in the morning and the other in the afternoon. In the Catholic classical and commercial colleges, a very thorough training in English is usually provided, and it from these schools that the provincial leaders have obtained their command of English. The teaching of French in the Protestant secondary schools has recently been made more thorough.

We now come to Ontario. In 1911, out of 2,500,000 people, some 202,000 were of French descent and 192,000 of German; no other non-English nationality was represented to any notable extent, the Dutch numbering 35,000, the Jews 27,000, and the Italians 21,000. The French-speaking citizens are found chiefly in the Ottawa valley, along the Detroit River where Du Lhut and La Motte were pioneers two centuries ago, and in New Ontario, where they are rapidly becoming the majority. The German stock is found to some extent in Renfrew and



Dundas counties, but chiefly in the belt of rich farming and manufacturing country extending across western Ontario from Welland to the Huron peninsula, with Kitchener as the centre.

In Ontario we have adopted the denominational basis of schools in a measure, more so than the western provinces, less so than Quebec. The Roman Catholic minority have the right to set up separate schools, supported out of their own taxes, and to be exempt from the taxes levied for the public schools. In several ways, however, they have less independent control than the Protestant minority in Quebec. In the first place, it is only in the elementary schools that the privileges of exemption are accorded, since in secondary education none but the public or non-denominational schools, the high schools and collegiate institutes, receive grants from the government, and all ratepayers are taxed for their support. In the second place, the curriculum, inspection and final examinations of the separate elementary schools are under the control of the Department of Education, and therefore in last resort, of the Protestant majority, just as in the case of the public schools. As in Quebec, the denominational, as distinct from the language rights enjoyed by the minority, are protected by constitutional guarantees.

In the schools, public and separate alike, certain privileges have been granted or established as to the use of the language of the minority. In the early days of the province much greater latitude was allowed than now prevails. There was little central organization or control of education, and if schools were established at all, in French or German communities, they were allowed to use their own tongue almost exclusively. The first official regulation on the question appears to have been passed in 1851, when on the application of an old country Frenchman who did not know a word of English, to be authorized to teach in an Essex school, the Board of Public Instruction declared that in French or German communities a knowledge of French or German grammar would be accepted in lieu of English grammar. This rule was confirmed in 1858 and again in 1871. The attitude of the provincial authorities is indicated in two letters of Egerton Ryerson, founder of the Ontario school system, and then Chief Superintendent. In the first, written in 1856, the Superintendent declined to interfere when an inspector raised the question whether French books of



strongly sectarian character were to be used in public schools: "As there is no list of books prescribed or recommended for French schools and as it may be presumed that the pupils attending them are for the most part or altogether Roman Catholics, I do not see that we can do anything in regard to the kind of books which are used in the few schools of French people in Upper Canada."<sup>2</sup> In the second he declares: "... That as the French is the recognized language of the country as well as the English, it is quite proper and lawful for the trustees to allow both languages to be taught in their schools to children whose parents may desire them to learn both".

Thus left pretty much to themselves, these schools achieved varying success. In the German sections the development is well summarized in the report of a Provincial Commission in 1889: "For a number of years many of these schools were conducted entirely in the German language. As the surrounding districts became occupied by English-speaking people, the German language gradually gave way to the English, so that now the schools, though attended by German children and making some use of German, are practically English schools and the German language is no longer used as the medium of instruction in any of them, except so far as may be necessary to give explanations to those pupils who on coming to school, know but little English. The transition from German to English which has been going on for many years is facilitated by the similarity between the two languages, and by the fact that the German settlements are limited in extent and surrounded by English-speaking people."<sup>4</sup> In the case of the German sections, then, the *laissez faire* policy was justified, and the people turned to English probably more quickly than if compulsion had been tried.

In the French communities, neither general efficiency nor the acquirement of English advanced at all as rapidly. These communities were much more isolated from English neighbors than the German sections in the heart of western Ontario, and naturally the nearness of Quebec as a great centre and support of the French language and the memory of the part played by the French in the founding of this country made the reten-

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<sup>2</sup>Reference 4, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 111.

tion of French more desired and more feasible than the retention of German. In many cases these communities lay in the less fertile and less developed sections of the province, and poverty as well as isolation hampered progress. Writing in 1882 Inspector J. F. White thus summed up the situation: "In several places in Essex and in the counties adjacent to the Ottawa, French is the language of the people and of the schools. Though the attention paid to their own tongue is highly praiseworthy, and the progress made therein very fair, it is much to be regretted that English, the great language of the country, is so frequently neglected. In some of the places in Eastern Ontario, it is quite unknown to teachers or pupils. This necessitates the carrying out in French of the examination of the classes and of the whole work of inspection."<sup>5</sup>

It was shortly after this time that the language question first came into politics and received public attention. The crisis was precipitated by the steady incursion of habitants from Quebec into the border counties of Eastern Ontario. It is interesting, in view of the situation today in Northern Ontario, to note that it was on the low swamp lands passed over by the early English-speaking settlers, that these French-Canadian farmers or lumberjacks first settled, unequalled axemen, and possessed of a patience, an industry and a content with small gains which eminently fitted them for the tasks of pioneer life in a land of swamp or muskeg. By 1881 over half the population of Prescott and Russell were French-speaking. English-speaking farmers, left in the minority, moved to the west. In the transition, naturally much friction and hard feeling developed.

The government, in which Oliver Mowat was premier and G. W. Ross Minister of Education, now decided to tighten up the regulations. In 1885 a knowledge of English was required from all candidates for a teacher's certificate, and it was provided that "in French and German schools the authorized Readers should be used in addition to any text-books in either of the languages aforesaid." Four years later a Commission of inquiry was appointed. The Commissioners reported that in every school in the French-speaking districts some English was taught, that in most cases there was not sufficient use of

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 119.



colloquial methods, and that in seventeen schools the results were very satisfactory, in twenty-one fair, while in eighteen the pupils knew very little English. They recommended bilingual readers, institutes for aiding teachers already employed, and a special school for training new French teachers in English.

The government took immediate action. It adopted all the recommendations of the commissioners. In addition, instructions were issued, Oct. 18, 1889, to "all teachers and trustees in schools where French or German is taught." One clause provided that English should be the language of instruction and communication, "except so far as this is impracticable by reason of the pupil not understanding English." Another provided that in the first and second form (the first four years of school), colloquial exercises should be held and the pupil taught to learn to read in French and English: "when the pupil enters the Third Form his knowledge of English should be sufficient to enable him to use all the English textbooks authorized. . ." "It shall be the duty of the inspector," the circular continued, "to see . . . that the study of French or German does not encroach upon the time necessary to acquire a thorough knowledge of English." Certain French readers and grammars were prescribed for use if desired, a provision generalized two years later in a regulation that in school sections where the French or German language prevailed, the trustees, with the approval of the inspector, might require instruction to be given the children of such parents as desired it in French or German reading, grammar, and composition. It will be seen that these instructions anticipate in substance Regulation No. 17, of later days, though less stringent.<sup>6</sup>

The same commissioners, reappointed in 1893, reported that in Prescott and Russell decided advance had been attained. Then for many years the question slumbered. When it did revive, it was because of friction not between French Catholic and English Protestant, but between French Catholic and Irish Catholic. There had been a steady growth of the French-Canadian element, partly by birth and partly by immigration from Quebec, but the movement had not attained sufficient proportions to explain the conflict: in 1901 the French-Canad-

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 105.



ian element formed 7.3 per cent of the population of Ontario and in 1911 8 per cent,—not cyclonic advance. The storm-centre was Ottawa, where Quebec and Ontario met; both in the separate school board and in the University of Ottawa friction between French and Irish Catholic was almost constant. About 1904 Father Fallon was practically forced out of the University. Six years later, when made Bishop of London, the diocese in which lay the French-speaking communities of Kent and Essex, his time came. In a famous letter to Mr. Hanna, Bishop Fallon declared that the bilingual schools in Essex were deplorably inferior, and that the children left them in a condition of crass ignorance of both English and French. Mr. Hanna forwarded the information to Dr. Pyne, Minister of Education; this communication was abstracted and made public, and the fat was in the fire. The instant flame of discussion made it necessary for the government to take action and Dr. Merchant was appointed to make an inquiry into the English-French schools of the province.

Dr. Merchant made a prolonged and careful investigation. His report, which appeared in February, 1912, stated that English was a subject of study in every school visited, but that it was taught with very different degrees of efficiency. Roughly speaking, his investigations showed that in Kent and Essex, in Stormont and Glengarry, and in the public schools of Prescott and Russell, a "moderately comprehensive and free working knowledge of English in speaking, in reading and in written composition" was being attained by children who left school from the third or fourth form in, say, two-thirds of the schools. In Russell and Ottawa, in the separate schools of Prescott, and in the public schools in the districts, the percentage of passable schools ranged between ten and thirty. Dr. Merchant, after referring to the excellent discipline of the schools and the politeness of the pupils, concluded, referring to general proficiency as well as to instruction in English, that while in many schools excellent work was being done, on the whole the English-French schools were lacking in efficiency, and that a large proportion of the children in the communities concerned left school with inadequate equipment to meet the demands of life.

Following this report, in June, 1912, the famous Regulation No. 17 was issued. It was stated to apply only to certain

schools, designated each year as English-French schools. In these schools French was permitted as the language of instruction, but only in the first form, that is, during the first two years of school; for the coming year only it might be used in higher forms where the children did not understand English. In schools "where French had hitherto been a subject of study," the board might provide for instruction in French reading, grammar and composition in Forms I to IV, for those children whose parents desired it, and conditional on not interfering with the adequacy of the instruction in English. The time given to this work should not exceed an hour a day in each class-room. A more rigid system of inspection was provided, with two inspectors for each of three divisions, with a Supervising Inspector,—English-speaking—practically controlling his French-speaking colleague in each division.

The new regulation was vigorously attacked. Some newspapers insisted that it did not go far enough and called for the complete abolition of French from the schools. The French-Canadian Educational Association denounced it as insulting and tyrannical. In 1913, as a result of a report from the six inspectors of bilingual schools, some modification was made in Regulation 17; the inspectors, English and French, were put on an equal footing, under a Chief Inspector, who was also given power to permit the use of French as the language of instruction beyond Form I, if he considered this advisable. These changes did not bring compliance. In school after school the children walked out as the inspector walked in. In 1915 some hundred and fifty schools outside of Ottawa had refused to accept the regulation and had forfeited the provincial grant. The situation became particularly acute in Ottawa, where the majority of the Separate School Board defied the Department of Education. Organized strikes by the children, the cutting off the provincial grant, injunctions to prevent the Board from obtaining funds, teachers unpaid, schools closed, the appointment by the Ontario legislature of a Commission to take control of the Ottawa separate schools, were some of the features of a long and tangled struggle. In November, 1916, the legal issues at stake reached the Privy Council. It held, first, that Regulation 17, or rather the confirming statute, was within the constitutional competence of the province to enact, since, in brief, it was religious and not



language rights which were guaranteed the minority by clause 93 of the British North America Act, and second, that the act setting up a provincial commission in place of the school board did violate the rights so guaranteed, and was *ultra vires*. The decision appeared to open the way for settlement, the more so since a papal encyclical which appeared at the same time strongly counselled peace and submission to state authority. In the spring of 1917, however, there were said to be still nearly one hundred and sixty schools which were not observing the regulation, and which had forfeited the provincial grant, out of some three or four hundred English-French schools in the province. The government, supported by all but five French-speaking members, took power again to set up a Commission in control of the Ottawa schools, if need arose.

In Quebec, English as well as French is recognized as an official language. The clause of the B. N. A. Act already cited makes it permissible to use either language in the debates of the legislature, and obligatory to use both in printing the records, journals and statutes. In the Maritime Provinces and in Ontario there is no corresponding authority for the use of French, in legislature or court procedure. The practice which prevailed in the old province of Canada before Confederation gives no constitutional warrant for the use of French officially in the Ontario section of that province since.

The western provinces may be surveyed more briefly. They all present a problem seriously complicated by the great racial diversity of the new settlers, by the rapidity of their incoming and by the thinly scattered character of much of the settlement.

Of Manitoba's 455,000 people, in 1911, some 30,000 were of French descent, 35,000 German, 40,000 Ruthenian, 12,000 Polish, 10,000 Jewish, and 6,000 Scandinavian, chiefly Icelanders. The Bible, it is stated, is sold in fifty-eight different dialects in Winnipeg, and probably not sold in several more. The French are mainly the descendants of the early fur traders, reinforced by later settlers from Quebec; at Confederation they were about equal in numbers to those of British descent, but have since been swamped by immigration. The Germans are in part descendants of the Mennonites from Russia, who came out here forty years ago on the invitation of the



Dominion Government, to escape military service, and in part newer comers. The Ruthenians, Poles, and Jews are of the latest immigration tide. Of these groups, the Icelanders and Jews have given no trouble as to language; they have been keen to learn English, and have attained marked success. The other communities, which have settled chiefly in the northern farming areas, have, however, occasioned a serious problem.

In Manitoba there is no legally established Separate School system. The denominational system set up in the early years of the province was abolished by the Greenway-Martin Government in 1890, and a purely non-denominational system, practically the same as the previous Protestant schools, established in its place. We all recall the fierce conflict which followed, and the breakdown of the constitutional guarantees on which the minority had relied. When the Liberals attained power in 1896, largely on a platform of conciliation toward Manitoba, a compromise was effected, by negotiation between the Laurier Government and the Greenway-Sifton Government. Provision was made for religious teaching in the last half hour of the school day, by representatives of any denomination, when requested by parents of a specified minimum of pupils; Catholic teachers were to be employed when the attendance of Catholic children reached twenty-five in rural and forty in urban schools, and the parents so petitioned. In the ordinary work of the school the children were not divided, and the schools remained public in every sense. This settlement was denounced by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and has never been accepted by them as final. In Winnipeg and Brandon the Roman Catholics have maintained separate parochial schools at their own expense, besides paying taxes to the public schools. In the smaller towns and in the country, however, the old separate schools have either been disbanded or are administered as public schools.

In this settlement a language clause was inserted which has lately come to possess much more importance than was anticipated at the time. It was provided that where ten pupils spoke French or any other language than English as their native tongue, bilingual teaching must be provided. The reason for not specifically restricting the privilege to French was to include the Mennonites, who lay much stress on the scrap

of paper given them by the Dominion Government forty years ago, promising liberty in education and religion.\* The influx of immigration from Eastern Europe which began about 1902 was not then foreseen. When it did come, confusion followed. Each racial group, often egged on by its ecclesiastical and newspaper leaders, demanded its rights under this clause. In 1915 nearly one-sixth of the schools were bilingual,—143 teaching French, 70 German, and 121 Polish or Ruthenian, as well as English. Practically all of these were in outlying country districts. A school for training French bilingual teachers is maintained at St. Boniface, and a German school at Borden; one of the regular provincial normal schools at Winnipeg gives instruction for Ruthenian teachers, and the other, at Brandon, for the Poles. The refusal of the late government of Manitoba to adopt compulsory education made the situation worse, especially in the Ruthenian communities. In several districts there were more than the minimum of ten children belonging to three different nationalities, and the strife as to which language should be taught by the unfortunate teacher, in the one-room ungraded school, with half a dozen or more classes, was constant and bitter. When the Norris government, which had made the education issue a chief plank in its platform, came into office in 1915, one of its first steps was to repeal the clause making it obligatory to permit bilingual teaching whenever demanded by the parents of ten children. The intention of the Minister of Education, it would seem, is not to put a stop at once to the use of these non-English languages, but to make it a privilege, not a legal right, and to enforce by firm administration the efficient teaching of English everywhere as a first step. It is also, apparently, not the intention to put French in exactly the same position as other non-English languages.

In Manitoba the language issue has not been confined to the schools. It has been raised in connection with court and

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\*Orders-in-Council and formal letters issued by the Macdonald government, in 1872 and 1873, pledged the following concessions:

1. Entire exemption from military service.
2. A free grant of lands in Manitoba.
3. The privilege of religious schools of their own.
4. The privilege of affirming oaths instead of making oaths in court.
5. Aid in payment of passage, etc.—Sessional Papers, 1873, No. 9, p. xi., seq.



legislative proceedings, though in a much milder form. When the province of Manitoba was formed in 1870, a compromise, based on the federal precedent, was embodied in the Manitoba Act by which the Dominion parliament constituted the province. This clause provided that either French or English might be used in the debates of the legislature or in the Courts of the province, and that both must be used in the legislative records and journals and in printing the statutes. In 1890, when the separate school system was abolished, this provision was also swept away. The Dominion Government refused to disallow the abolishing act, on the ground that it was a matter for the courts to decide. The courts have not been called upon to face it until this past year, when a Winnipeg barrister, son of the late Chief Justice Dubuc, brought an action to test the legality of a prothonotary's action in rejecting a statement of claim on the ground that it was written in French. So far as the debates of the House are concerned, the smallness of the number of the French-speaking members,—who, in the present house, constitute all that is left of the Conservative or Opposition representation, five or six all told—has made it a matter of practical necessity to use English.

Saskatchewan and Alberta are still more polyglot than Manitoba. In Saskatchewan, in 1911, out of 490,000 people, some 68,000 were of German origin, 41,000 of Austro-Hungarian, chiefly Ruthenian origin, 34,000 Scandinavian, 23,000 French, and 18,000 Russian. In Alberta, out of 375,000 people, there were 36,000 of German descent, 28,000 Scandinavian, 26,000 Ruthenian, and 20,000 French.

The North-West Territories, it will be recalled, were formally organized by Dominion act in 1875. Various extensions of home rule were made during the next thirty years, until in 1905 the Autonomy Acts admitted Saskatchewan and Alberta, comprising the settled southern portion of the territories, as full-fledged provinces.

In both provinces a mild form of separate schools exists. In 1884 a thorough-going denominational system, on the Quebec plan, authorized by the federal act of 1875, was introduced, but in 1892 the territorial authorities insisted on modifying this system materially, and it was this modified system which was established by the Autonomy Acts. Under this provision, Catholic or Protestant minorities have the right to establish



separate schools and to be taxed for the support of these schools only. No religious teaching is permitted in these separate schools, except for opening with the Lord's prayer, until the last half hour of school in the afternoon. The course of study, the books, except for the optional use of the Canadian Catholic Readers, the inspection, are uniform for both public and separate schools. In view of the extent and heat of the discussion which has sometimes centred about these schools, it is interesting to note how few separate schools of even this mild type exist: in 1916 there were in Saskatchewan only fourteen Roman Catholic and three Protestant separate school districts out of a total of thirty-seven hundred, and in Alberta nine Catholic and one Protestant school out of some twenty-four hundred districts, with three thousand out of the total ninety thousand pupils enrolled.

As regards the language to be used in the schools, no constitutional limitation or right exists. The Dominion did not make any provision as to the language of the schools either in 1875 or in 1905. The territorial authorities themselves, however, adopted certain measures which are still in force. It was not until 1888 that a primary course in English was made compulsory in all organized schools in the province. In 1892, it was enacted that all schools should be taught in the English language, that both English and French literature might be included in the subjects of study, and that it should be permissible for any school board to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language. A further privilege is embodied in the ordinances of 1901, whereby the board of any district is empowered to employ one or more competent persons to give instruction in languages other than English to the pupils whose parents so desire, on condition that such instruction shall not supersede or in any way interfere with the instruction required by the general regulations, and provided that the cost of such instruction shall be met by a special levy on the parents of the pupils concerned. All these measures are still in force in the two provinces.

In Saskatchewan, as in other western provinces, the question is complicated by the fact that not all the settled territory is organized into school districts. Following good Ontario and democratic practice, it has normally been left to the people of each community to organize themselves, as soon as the

number of children of school age warranted, into either a public or a separate school district, or both. On the whole, wonderful success has been attained in this direction, and there is nothing more promising in the western outlook than the combination of local interest and efficient government leadership in the field of education. Yet difficulties have developed even where schools have been organized in orthodox fashion. The Community Doukhobors decline to send their children to these schools at all, and it is questionable whether it is wise to attempt to compel them to do so, rather than to wait until the disintegrating influences of their Canadian surroundings and example of the Independent Doukhobors who have broken from the old ways and the old leaders produce their inevitable effect. In a few French communities it is claimed that an adequate knowledge of English is not given, but this phase of the issue is of minor importance in Saskatchewan. The Ruthenians are a greater source of difficulty. As is almost inevitable in view of salaries and living conditions, few but Ruthenian teachers are available in such communities, and in spite of the activities of the Ruthenian training-school at Regina, now associated with the Normal School, the bulk of these teachers are but poorly grounded in English and poorly trained in general. In about thirty out of the hundred and fifty schools in the northern part of the province attended by Ruthenian children the last hour or half hour of the day is devoted to Ruthenian as a subject of study, in accordance with the 1901 ordinance cited above. Yet progress is being made. More Ruthenians are becoming regularly qualified, and a number are attending the provincial university. More and more districts are engaging Canadian teachers, sometimes building a teacher's house to overcome the boarding difficulty.

But not all communities are organized. Dr. Oliver, in his recent survey of rural education in the province<sup>7</sup> showed that many communities had evaded the school law by the simple process of not organizing a district in the way prescribed, or by "deorganizing" later. This practice is found chiefly among the Mennonites of the stricter sort, the Old Colonies, centering chiefly around Hague and Warman, north of Saskatoon, and around Wymark and Blumenhof, south of Swift Current. They

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<sup>7</sup>Reference 18.



have established parochial schools, supported by voluntary assessment. In these schools, containing some twelve hundred pupils, Dr. Oliver has claimed that not a single word of English is taught; German is the sole tongue used and the catechism and the Bible, with writing and arithmetic, make up the whole course of study. In some German Catholic communities near Humboldt, with a dozen or fifteen schools, a somewhat better general education is given, and German and English are each taught for half a day. In none of these parochial schools have the provincial inspectors hitherto had any right to enter or any control whatever. A new School Attendance Act has just been passed, however, much on the Alberta model, giving the Department of Education power to investigate these parochial schools and to apply pressure if they are not efficient. The Minister of Education has recently stated that the total number of these schools in the province is only 53.

There has been no province of Canada in which there has been of late so much public discussion of education in the wider sense, and not merely of education in the racial and ecclesiastical relations which sometimes engross attention, as in Saskatchewan. The government has invited suggestions for radical reform of the educational system, and the public response to the invitation has been most helpful. The result, it may be hoped, will be that the improvements needed and promised as to language teaching will come as part of a general educational policy and not merely as the outcome of a racial quarrel, though such friction cannot entirely be avoided.

Alberta has had to face the same problems. A Supervisor of Foreign Schools has been appointed whose duty it is to supervise the organization and management of these schools, and to step in when the local authorities refuse to act. Much opposition has been met, especially from the Ruthenians, many of whom asserted the right to bilingual schools, that is, to the use of Ruthenian as the medium of instruction. This claim has been denied, though in Alberta, as in Saskatchewan, Ruthenian or any other tongue may be taught as a subject of study in the last hour of the day, in accordance with the Territorial regulation of 1901 previously cited. Alberta also has faced its parochial school problem, by insisting on the right to inspect such schools and refusing to recognize attendance at them as fulfilling the compulsory education requirements un-



less a certain standard of efficiency is attained. In the report of the Minister of Education for 1914, the situation is thus summarized: "The organization of the branch of the Department for forcing operation of schools and compelling attendance, is commencing to show results. There has been a gradual but relentless tightening of the pressure in this direction during the last few years." The Chief Inspector reported that a number of German-Lutheran private schools, under charge of theological students from Lutheran colleges in the United States, had been closed because he had declined to give them a certificate of efficiency, and that most of the pupils now attended public schools.

The language to be used in the legislative and court proceedings of these two provinces has never been made a subject of constitutional regulation. It has, however, been the subject of parliamentary action. In 1880 the Dominion parliament prescribed for the Territories the same arrangement as had been adopted in the Dominion and for Manitoba: either English or French might be used in legislative debates and court proceedings, and both must be used in the records, journals and ordinances of the Council or Assembly. Ten years later D'Alton McCarthy began his campaign against French by moving that this privilege be rescinded: an amendment was carried continuing the existing arrangement but giving the Legislative Assembly power, after the succeeding election, to determine for itself what its procedure would be. In 1892 Mr. Haultain succeeded in having a resolution adopted by the Assembly providing that thereafter its proceedings should be recorded and published in English only. Apparently the question of the language of the courts has not been dealt with by law, but practice has thus far given English the sole place.

British Columbia has thus far escaped a language problem or at least any public discussion of it. It has its share of non-English peoples; out of 392,000 inhabitants, besides 20,000 Indians, there were 20,000 Chinese, 16,000 Scandinavians, 11,000 Germans, 9,000 French, 9,000 Italians, 8,000 Japanese, 7,000 Ruthenians and 7,000 Russians, chiefly Doukhobors. Many of these groups, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, have few children; others are scattered throughout English-speaking sections, and are either assimilated to English ways or too weak to make any concerted demand. English is the sole

language of instruction, and no other tongue has a place as subject of study in the lower schools. Of late the Doukhobors who have migrated from Saskatchewan, and who are chiefly of the straiter sect, have been giving some difficulty. There has never been any question of the use of any other language in legislative or court proceedings.

Such, in barest outline, is the language situation in Canada. Some general considerations suggest themselves.

In the first place, the language issue is, in Canada, distinctly a question of elementary education. As such it comes within the constitutional power of each province to determine for itself. Broadly speaking, there are no legal limits to this power. The constitutional protection given to denominational minorities does not extend to language minorities, and the general power of the Dominion to veto provincial laws is not likely, and rightly so, to be exercised in this field. That does not mean that what is done in Saskatchewan is no concern of the Nova Scotian, nor that the Ontario man should refrain from investigating or discussing a Quebec issue. It does not mean that merely provincial considerations are to be taken into account in determining provincial policy; otherwise, it would be hard to find any reason why the Quebec majority, if so minded, should not require every child of the English-speaking minority to learn French. It does mean that the power and responsibility in this issue rest primarily with the people of each province, and that their view of what is just and expedient, and not constitutional restrictions, will guide their action.

Is it just and expedient for the English-speaking majority in eight of our provinces to use their power to require that every child in their bounds should be given an adequate mastery of English? On this point there is very general agreement. Undoubtedly this is not only our power but our duty, alike for the nation's sake and for the child's sake. In any democracy, the foundation of common action, of common ideals and common purpose, is free intercourse and full understanding. In a country like Canada, stretching four thousand miles from sea to sea and hardly, as yet, ever more than a hundred inhabited miles wide, broken by Maine intrusions and Archaean rock wilderness, it is doubly essential that as few language bars as possible be added to the natural bars that



check free intercourse. Without the widest possible knowledge of English no common Canadian consciousness is conceivable. It is equally clear that this training is desirable in the child's own interest. This is and will be overwhelmingly an English-speaking country, still more so an English-speaking continent. Many a door of opportunity will be barred to the child who lacks this key.

Would it be equally just and expedient for the French-speaking majority in Quebec to require every child in the province to learn French? It is difficult to see how any one who asserts the right of any province to decide its language question regardless of its neighbors' opinions could deny this, but, as suggested previously, other than provincial considerations must be taken into account. Neither the argument of national unity nor the argument of individual advantage counts so strongly as in the case of English. Fortunately the question is an academic one. The majority in Quebec has shown an admirable tolerance in this regard, and not even the fieriest Nationalists have proposed to hamper the freedom of the minority to teach what language or what creed it pleases.

The policy of requiring every child in the English-speaking provinces to learn adequately the tongue of the majority being taken as accepted, then, should the language of the minority also be given a place in the school curriculum? So far as the political aspect of this policy is concerned, much depends on the attitude and purpose of the minority in question. If they take up a position of isolation and antagonism, seek to put their fatherland before the land of their adoption, a strong plea can be advanced against any privileges which will but further perpetuate and buttress this attitude. If, however, they put Canada first, and share in common Canadian aspirations, there seems no valid reason, on political grounds alone, for refusing a place in the schools for their mother tongue. We want unity, not a drab, steam-rollered uniformity. The man who forgets the rock out of which he was hewn is no better Canadian for it; to repress old traditions before we have given new ideals is questionable policy. By all means seek to put Canada first in the minds and hearts of every child of Canada by birth or adoption but do so by constructive action, by emphasizing the nation of the future which all share in



common, rather than by repressive action, by forcible suppression of the heritage and memories of the past.

In this connection, it must be recognized that it is not possible to speak of French as being merely on a level with Ruthenian, or German, or Chinese. Quite aside from any general considerations as to the importance of French from a literary or commercial or diplomatic point of view, we can never forget that it was the sons and daughters of old France who first settled our shores, who faced dauntlessly the pioneer tasks and took their full share in laying the foundations of the Canada of today. Nor can we ignore the practical fact that today our fellow-citizens of French descent are two million strong, and will for generations play a leading part in the national life, a life which may be made strong by frank and cordial partnership or marred and broken by discord. The degree of weight to be given such considerations will vary in different provinces, with the degree of historical connection, or of the complication involved by the presence of other language minorities; it is stronger in the case of the Maritime provinces, Ontario and Manitoba, than in the case of the three westernmost provinces.

Again, the practical question of the feasibility of teaching a second language must be taken into account. The additional time required for the study of a second language will doubtless be balanced by the advantage in mental discipline and in equipment for life. Where, however, the minority is only a fractional one, or where, as in many western communities, there are several racial minorities jumbled in a single section, the practical difficulties may quite outweigh any theoretical arguments for giving a place to any or all of these languages in the school work. A place may often be found in secondary schools when it is not practicable in the elementary schools.

To turn more particularly to the situation in Ontario. The great body of moderate opinion among both English-speaking and French-speaking Ontarians appears to follow the lines indicated above: insist upon an adequate training in English for every child in the province, and provide, where it is desired, such training in French as may be found practicable and consistent with progress in English. If this is so, why the heat and controversy of the past few years? Partly because a few men on either side have put forward extreme

demands, on one side for the complete exclusion of French from the schools and on the other for the use of French as the language of instruction throughout; partly because of ignorance of the facts, and still more because of suspicion and misunderstanding as to the ultimate purpose and aim of the opposing party. Many French-speaking Canadians believe that the Government and the majority in Ontario are seeking to oust French entirely, while many English-speaking Canadians believe that the inefficiency in the teaching of English in bilingual schools is proof of a design to oust English.

To take these points in turn. Is there any evidence of an intention on the part of the majority in Ontario to prevent a child learning French, provided he masters English as well? None. The responsible leaders of both parties are on record to the contrary. Any one who follows in detail the course upon this question taken by the Department of Education, under whatever administration, must conclude that it has shown sympathy, patience, and an honest desire to meet the reasonable wishes of the French-speaking minority. Doubtless mistakes have been made, but not more so than in other fields. The establishment of bilingual training schools, the offer to pay part of the expense of teachers in training at these schools, and to aid poor districts in paying the higher salaries demanded by well-trained teachers—an offer, strangely, not yet accepted—are evidences of this sympathetic attitude.

Are there any evidences to the contrary? First, complaint is made of the restriction of French as a subject of study to one hour a day. This does not appear wholly unreasonable, out of five or five and a half hours, in view of the time which must be allotted to subjects such as arithmetic, writing, and geography, which from the literary standpoint are neutral. The six bilingual inspectors, after a year's experience of the first version of Regulation 17, recommended that the teacher's time should be divided equally between three groups of subjects of study, first, English reading, composition and grammar, second, French reading, composition and grammar, and third, arithmetic, history, geography, writing and other subjects. This suggestion was not adopted; instead, the Chief Inspector was empowered to extend the time for French at his option.



In the second place, as to the language of instruction, it is urged that it is harsh and unnecessary to limit the use of French to the first form, that is, the first two or three years, or to make an extension depend solely on the grace of the Chief Inspector. This is a question on which there is wide difference of opinion. At one extreme we find the argument which Dr. Merchant met with from some of the teachers inspected, "for the retention of French as the language of instruction throughout the course, contending that since the child thinks most naturally in the mother tongue he is greatly handicapped in pursuing a course of study when there is placed upon him the added difficulty of acquiring and using a strange language; these teachers would continue English as a subject of study to the end of the course."<sup>8</sup> This argument has weight, but it does not recognize the actual facts of the situation to be faced. Wherever this method is followed, Dr. Merchant notes, the pupils' attainments in English are unsatisfactory. It requires time, incessant practice and skilled teachers to give a training in English in this way. One or more of these conditions is usually lacking. In a community wholly French-speaking, the children hear little English outside the school room, and the need of the most constant practice there, especially when they leave while in the third or fourth book, is obvious. In mixed communities, there are likely to be English-speaking children attending the school, and while this makes it easier for the French-speaking children to learn English, it brings other complications, especially in a one or two-roomed school, if French is made the language of instruction for all.

At the other pole of opinion it is urged that it is possible to teach a new language adequately without using a word of the child's mother tongue from the day he enters. Dr. Norman Black has given a very forceful exposition of this argument, and has cited much evidence to bear him out.<sup>9</sup> On the whole, American and Western Canadian opinion and practice appear to run in this direction, though it is not certain whether the policy is not often merely the counsel of necessity, the only course which the teacher's limitations or the variety of

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<sup>8</sup>Reference 6, p. 74.

<sup>9</sup>Reference 18a.



languages spoken by the pupils makes possible, rather than a counsel of perfection. A western friend, with wide practical experience, writes: "Teach English from the first. There is no danger of losing French. A language must be learned as young as possible if knowledge is to be facile. The task to do is a big one, therefore, begin at once, especially with irregular attendance and early graduation. The bilingual or translation method goes around two sides of a triangle (the object—chapeau-hat), and therefore is bad, as spoken English must be instantaneous and automatic." To learn English, however, is not the sole object of primary schooling.

The compromise favoured by the Welsh and Nova Scotia authorities (see below), of beginning instruction in the mother tongue, was endorsed by Dr. Merchant: "the best results are obtained when the medium of instruction is in the beginning the mother tongue." The chief argument in favour of this procedure is that otherwise the English words learned become mere parrot phrases, conveying no meaning to the child's mind, and that progress in general subjects and in mental development is much more rapid on the bilingual plan. Whether the two or three years allowed under the Ontario rule for the mastery of English is sufficiently long, is a fair subject for discussion; Nova Scotia grants two more. But to make discussion worth while, the existing rule should first be given a fair trial.

One further point may be noted, which is often cited as proof of hostility to the French language. Regulation 17 provides that French may be taught as a subject of study "in those schools where French has **hitherto** been a subject of study." This is taken to imply an intent to confine the teaching of French strictly to its present limits. The Department of Education officially denies this interpretation.<sup>10</sup> It declares that Regulation 17 does not apply to all bilingual schools, but only to those which have not been teaching English adequately, and which are annually designated for special treatment, as "English-French schools." In the case of schools not on the list, but containing French-speaking pupils, or in the case of new schools organized since the adoption of Regulation 17, the use and study of French are governed by Regulation 12 (2), and Section 84 of the Public School Act, which have been in

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<sup>10</sup>Reference 12.

force for years and have been supplemented, not replaced, by the new rule.\* This seems a fair and reasonable interpretation, but it does not clear up the whole matter. According to this interpretation, there are two classes of schools: first, those in which English has not been adequately taught, and in which, of course, French has been taught, and second, those in which English has been taught adequately, whether French has been studied at all or not. It is only to the first class that Regulation 17 is said to apply. Why, then, use the word 'hitherto' at all in this connection, since, by definition, this class includes only those schools in which French has previously been taught, and taught excessively? Again, is it correct to say that in the second class of schools Regulation 12(2) and Section 84 are the only rules that apply? Would a school that was proved to be teaching English adequately be allowed to use French as the medium of instruction beyond Form I, or as a subject of study for more than an hour a day, without the consent of the Chief Inspector? Possibly the department would reply that this is only a hypothetical case, since under Ontario conditions an adequate command of English cannot be given if this minimum of French is exceeded; why, then, permit it to be exceeded in the other class of schools, even with the Chief Inspector's permission? It is worth noting that in 1913 the six inspectors of bilingual schools unanimously recommended "that an English-French school be defined as follows: An English-French school is a Public or Separate school in which English and French are the languages of instruction and management, or in which English and French are subjects of study in any of the Forms I to IV." This would make the teaching of French and not the adequacy of the teaching of English, the basis of classification. The Privy Council declared that Regulation 17 was "unfortunately couched in obscure language." The official statements show that the intentions of the

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\*Section 84 provides for public schools (apparently there is no corresponding regulation for separate schools) that English shall be the language of instruction and communication except where it is impracticable by reason of the pupil not understanding English. Regulation 12 (2) provides that in school sections where the French or German language prevails the board may require instruction to be given in French or German reading, grammar and composition to those pupils whose parents so direct, in addition to the regular course of study.



Department are not as restrictive as has been claimed. It would be well to make this clear beyond dispute.

To turn to the other side, there are those who claim that our French-Canadian cousins cherish the idea of driving English from the schools, and point to the charges of inefficient English training in many French-speaking settlements to bear out their contention. It is true that in many schools there is inefficiency, though not so great as is commonly supposed by those who have not read Dr. Merchant's report, or who have no first hand knowledge of the situation, and not so great by any means as existed thirty years ago. But such inefficiency as exists is not wholly or even largely due to any deliberate intention to slight English. True, in some remote districts where the French-Canadian farmers have recently come across the border from Quebec, they have not realized at first the need of English. True, also, that in some of the larger centres a few ecclesiastics, usually recent comers with strong ultramontane notions of the superiority of the church over the state, have encouraged any policy which will lessen the risk of contamination by intercourse with heretics. They are, however, a minority, and, as the recent admirable encyclical of the Pope on the bilingual issue showed, more Catholic than Rome itself. The vast majority of French-Canadians in Ontario are sincerely anxious to give their children a good English training. As Paul Lamarche puts it, "For us, to learn French is a duty, to learn English, a necessity."

What, then, is the explanation of such failure to secure adequate English training as exists? Partly, the inherent difficulty of teaching two languages in single-room schools, partly, the same causes which account for the frequent inefficiency in other subjects than English. Most of the backward schools are in poor or newly-settled districts. The attendance of pupils is irregular, and many, if not a majority, leave school before they have entered or passed through the fourth form. The teachers are a fluctuating body: when, as Dr. Merchant points out, sixty per cent. of the teachers inspected had held their posts for less than one year, what possible hope is there for efficiency under these preposterous conditions? It is difficult, again, to secure trained teachers. Few English elementary teachers know French well enough to teach it, and those who do are not eager to go to the communities in question to



teach for \$300 a year. Relatively few French-Canadian pupils go through the Ontario High Schools, and those who do have better opportunities in business than the bilingual school affords.

These facts make it clear that the question is not merely one of language or race; it is, in part, only one phase of the general educational problem which faces us. Any steps taken to improve our general school system, by enforcing attendance strictly, by raising the age limit, by introducing consolidated schools, by making the township or county rather than the section the unit of administration, by making larger grants to the poorer sections, by making teaching a better paid and more permanent calling, will go far to solve our language difficulties.

In conclusion, two suggestions may be ventured with special reference to the Ontario situation.

In the first place, it is much to be desired that in our secondary schools and colleges a more effective mastery of French could be given. Some 25,000 pupils study French in Ontario higher schools each year; how many can carry on a conversation in French? Of course the difficulties of environment, of lack of practice, are not easily to be surmounted, but a betterment is worth striving for.

In the second place, could not this year, when we are celebrating Confederation and rejoicing in the alliance of Britain and France, be made the occasion for settlement of the bilingual issue? The situation is improving, but it is still deplorable. The provincial authorities claim that if Regulation 17 is given a fair trial, the progress alike in English and in French would surprise the critics. The critics declare that an adequate mastery of French is impossible under the regulations. The issue cannot be determined without trial. Why should not the schools now resisting agree to give the regulation a fair trial, on the understanding that a Commission of impartial, outside educationists will be appointed by the provincial government to study its working, at the end of a definite period or periods? Is there any more practical way in which we can further the national unity we celebrate on July 1?

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## NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE ISSUE ABROAD.

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To supplement the foregoing discussion of the language situation in Canada, it may be of use to note some phases of the same question in other countries, even though limitations of space and knowledge compel brevity and differences of conditions necessitate caution in applying outside experience.

In the United Kingdom the revival of Celtic tongues has made it necessary for the school authorities to face the question. Passing over the rapid growth of Gaelic in Ireland, where it is now a subject of study in five thousand out of eight thousand elementary schools, and the less marked revival in Scotland, the situation in Wales may be stated. When a system of state-aided schools was first established in England and in Wales, which for nearly all purposes is considered a part of the same administrative unit, English was made the sole language of instruction and Welsh was barred under penalty.<sup>11</sup> With the steady growth of Welsh nationalist feeling in the nineteenth century, and the endeavors made to preserve the ancient tongue, especially in Sunday Schools, it became necessary to make concessions. At first Welsh was admitted as a subject of study and, in a very limited degree, as the language of instruction. The Royal Commission on Education, 1886-

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<sup>11</sup>"The idea is that if you shut Welsh out of the school-room and the playground, you are in that way likely to teach English better. There is a plan by which if a boy is heard to speak a word of Welsh, a piece of stick or board is taken out of the master's desk, with the letters W.N. on it, meaning 'Welsh Note'. This is handed to the child, and the meaning of that is that the child, if he has it in his possession at the close of the school, is to be punished. This child is not now thinking of the lesson; he is very anxious to find somebody who speaks Welsh, in order to hand the W.N. on to him, so he attends to right and left, to somebody before or behind him who is likely to speak Welsh and as soon as he hears a Welsh word he hands it over and that goes on and at last the final culprit is brought up and punished."

Reference 5, p. 13.

"Mr. Lloyd George told me, this summer, that he could still feel his fingers tingle with the strokes of the rod which he had received at school when he dared to utter the words of the blessed tongue he had learned from his mother."

Reference 9, p. 37.



1887, reported in favour of further extension; bilingual readers were authorized in 1889, and since 1893 a thorough-going bilingual system has been in force in Wales, and in the County of Monmouth. In the primary classes, English and Welsh children are given instruction wholly in their mother tongue; Welsh is retained as a subject of study throughout. The Welsh authorities speak in the highest terms of the educational results achieved.<sup>12</sup>

Of the Dominions, South Africa presents the nearest analogy to Canada in the language situation. In accordance with the report of a Select Committee of the Union Parliament, English and Dutch, which had both been made official languages for legislative purposes, were put on an equality throughout in the schools. Up to the fourth standard, instruction is given in and through the home language, though parents may require that the instruction be given in the second language as a subject of study, and as an auxiliary medium of instruction. Above this Standard, equal provision is made for the use of both languages, both as subjects of study and as mediums of instruction. All teachers in future are required to have a knowledge of both languages. Elaborate administrative provisions have been drawn up to facilitate this difficult and complicated programme.<sup>13</sup>

Belgium is a country of two races and two languages, under a single administration, presenting same analogies to the Province of Canada from 1841 to 1867. A line drawn from Lille to Maastricht divides Belgium into the Flemish or Low German section to the north-west and the Walloon or French section to the south-east, nearly equal in population.<sup>14</sup> The language question has been a source of constant conflict between Flemish and Walloon Belgium. Under the Dutch re-

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<sup>12</sup>Reference 21.

<sup>13</sup>Reference 21.

<sup>14</sup>1900 language census of Belgium:

Number speaking French only .....	2,574,805
Number speaking Flemish only .....	2,822,005
Number speaking German only .....	28,314
Number speaking French and Flemish.....	801,587
Number speaking French and German.....	66,447
Number speaking Flemish and German.....	7,238
Number speaking the three languages.....	42,889



gime, 1815-1830, Dutch was made the official language; when Belgium secured its freedom French took its place as the sole language of the administration, the courts and the army. It was hoped that Flanders could be made French-speaking. The hope was vain; step by step the Flemish have forced almost complete equality for their tongue, in the courts, in the army, and in the proceedings of parliament. The Catholic party, suspicious of anti-clerical France, has favoured this 'flamingant' movement. In the elementary schools, the mother tongue, as determined by the head of the family, is the language of instruction throughout; in the Brussels district and along the linguistic frontier, modifications of this rule are permitted, subject to insistence on adequate study of the mother tongue. In the middle schools the mother tongue is compulsory, and also a second language, such as French in Flemish or German districts and Flemish or German in Walloon districts, while a third modern language is optional; in the *Athénées Royaux*, or state-supported secondary schools, French is required for entrance in all cases, and Flemish or German where those languages prevail. In the universities the lectures are given in French, except in special cases decided by the Minister of Education.<sup>15</sup> It is significant that the German occupiers of Belgium, seeking to drive a wedge between Fleming and Walloon, in 1916 made the University of Ghent Flemish throughout. It may be noted, in passing, that it is perhaps unfortunate that the impressions our soldiers have formed of the Belgian people have been gathered almost wholly by contact with the Flemish section,—the Walloon section being as yet, wholly under German occupation.

Germany is a land of many dialects but of few distinct languages. Prussia has endeavoured to make them fewer. Since 1889 German has been substituted for Danish in the schools of North Schleswig. In 1873 the Prussian government decreed that in Polish districts German should be made the language of instruction save for religious teaching; even this exception was abolished later, resulting in school strikes on an extraordinary scale. "The experiments made before adopting exclusively the German language in schools made up of foreigners (!) were most interesting," writes an American ob-

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<sup>15</sup>Reference 22.

server. "The Minister of Public Instruction conducted these experiments in person. It was everywhere found that children who had not spoken a single German word before entering school not only made great progress in the elementary school curriculum when the instruction was given in German, but also expressed themselves best in their native tongue."<sup>16</sup> In 1899 a Prussian decree forbade German teachers and officials imported into Polish districts, who had married Polish wives, to use Polish in the family circle. Gratuitous private instructions in Polish is punished by fine or imprisonment. Polish is barred from the courts and all administrative dealings. Yet the policy of Germanisation has completely failed. Polish Prussia before the war was becoming more intensely Polish and anti-German every year.<sup>17</sup>

In Alsace-Lorraine a less extreme policy has been adopted. "About four hundred primary schools are classified as French or Bilingual schools. In every school where twenty per cent of the pupils speak French, a division is made. If fewer than half of the pupils speak French, they are taught to read and write German from the first year, but they are nevertheless given five hours French teaching a week for the first two years. If the majority speak French, they are taught at first to read and write in French. Seven hours a week are set aside for instruction in French, in the strict sense, during the first two years, for children of six and seven; three hours for children of eight and nine, and two hours for children from ten to fourteen. In all the schools, the instruction in religion is given in the mother tongue four hours a week."<sup>18</sup>

Austria-Hungary is the classic example of a land of conflicting races and tongues. In the Austrian section of the dual monarchy, the German language has lost its earlier primacy. It remains the language of command in the army, though the various Slav tongues are recognized as regimental languages of instruction. In the Reichsrat, eight tongues are recognized as official languages. The struggle has been keenest in Bohemia. The policy of making Bohemia German and Catholic, pursued since Maria Theresa's day, has proved futile; after

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<sup>16</sup>Reference 23, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup>Reference 24.

<sup>18</sup>Reference 9, p. 41.



long years of oblivion, Bohemian has revived and dominates two-thirds of the country. Since 1895 Bohemian has been recognized as an official language, along with German. Where Bohemians are in the majority, both German and Bohemian schools are provided; where Germans are in the majority, only German schools. In the latter districts Bohemian schools are often provided by voluntary subscription, through the Mother of Schools Association.<sup>19</sup>

In Hungary the Magyars have been more strict and more successful in their attempt to make their tongue universal. Magyar has ousted German, which in turn had ousted Latin, the medieval *lingua franca* of Hungary. It has not fared so well against the Slav and Rumanian tongues. In 1879 Magyar was made a compulsory subject of study in all schools in Hungary, and teachers were required to know Magyar; the language of the locality was, however, to remain the medium of instruction. The law was not fully enforced: in 1905 it was shown that in one-fourth of the schools, and especially in the Rumanian districts, Magyar was an unknown tongue. In 1907 it was decreed that where at least half the scholars were Magyar, Magyar should be the medium of instruction, but that steps might also be taken to give the non-Magyars instruction in their own tongue. In schools in which the language of instruction is not Magyar, Magyar is to be a daily subject of study, with a view to enabling the children to express themselves in the official language of the state both in speech and in writing at the end of the fourth year of instruction.<sup>20</sup>

The United States, we are accustomed to think, recognizes no language but English in its schools. This is not quite correct. In the public elementary schools, English is now practically the sole language of instruction. This has not always been so; until a few years ago German, Spanish and French were frequently used; Colorado still permits instruction in the German or Spanish language, where demanded by the parents of twenty children, and in Louisiana the law of 1906 provides that "elementary branches may also be taught in the French language in these localities where the French language is spoken; but no additional expense shall be incurred for this

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<sup>19</sup>Reference 25.

<sup>20</sup>Reference 26.



cause." In spite of this permission, there is today no instruction in French in the public elementary schools of Louisiana except in New Orleans, where it is taught after hours in fifteen schools.<sup>21</sup> In the public high schools, French, German and Spanish are, as elsewhere, subjects of study. Further, even in the public elementary schools in many large cities these languages are included in the list of subjects of study, while Minnesota permits instruction in any language other than English, not to exceed an hour a day, by unanimous vote of the trustees. This practice appears to be decreasing. In Cleveland, for example, where German was formerly taught from the first year, it is now taught only in the seventh and eighth grades (the Fourth Book); the Educational Commission of 1906 declared that those "who begin German in the High School, after the second year, can keep up with and do as good work in the same classes as those who have had eight years of German in the primary and grammar grades, and two years in the high schools."<sup>22</sup>

The public schools, however, are not the only elementary schools in the United States. Our American cousins have steadily refused to establish separate schools in our sense of the term, that is, schools giving religious instruction and supported by the taxes of members of certain denominations, who are thereby exempted from support of the public schools. But there have grown up great numbers of parochial schools, supported by the voluntary contributions of religious or nationalistic groups, who must also pay their share of public school taxes. Catholic parochial schools are found in every diocese, and in 1913 enrolled 1,360,761 pupils, involving an outlay of \$11,000,000; Catholic High Schools are numerous and growing. Lutheran parochial or congregational schools in the same year numbered 5,883, with 272,914 pupils enrolled or about one-fifth of the Lutheran children of school age. A few other denominations sustain a small number of schools.<sup>23</sup>

In these parochial schools, which stand entirely outside the state system, the religious authorities have been free to teach what and how they pleased. In non-English speaking com-

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<sup>21</sup>Reference 30, chap. 4, 9.

<sup>22</sup>Reference 27, p. 94-5.

<sup>23</sup>Reference 29.

munities, the schools are frequently carried on in whole or in part in the speech of the neighborhood. In the second generation English usually becomes the school tongue. "Even in German schools," according to an official report, "English is the language used by teachers and pupils in nine-tenths of the studies pursued. Even in religious study, which forms the *raison d'être* of these schools, the use of English as the medium of instruction is increasing, as the German or Norwegian, Swedish, etc., congregations are becoming English."<sup>24</sup> In Cleveland, as an example, there are fifteen Lutheran schools, one Slovak and the rest German; in the latter, German is taught one and a quarter hours a day through the eight days. "All the pupils are able to read, write and speak German easily when they graduate." Of the 52 Catholic parochial schools, 30 are foreign language schools, Polish, German, Bohemian, Slovak, Slovenian, Hungarian, and Lithuanian. "The Church itself has no particular enthusiasm for these foreign language schools, enduring rather than fostering them." In addition, the Bohemians, who are chiefly free thinkers, maintain five Saturday and Sunday schools for instruction in Bohemian language and history, and Hebrews, Protestant and Catholic Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbians and Slovaks maintain similar Saturday, Sunday, evening or summer schools.<sup>25</sup> In the Roman Catholic Schools of Cleveland English is the only language of instruction: "in some schools in the entering grades a teacher is employed who also speaks the native language of the children. English, however, is begun at once, and the other language is used only as a means of introduction to English. With us a two-language school means that the language and history of the fatherland are taught as an accomplishment and generally are begun the third year of the child's school life." In the diocese of Newark, again, no language but English is used as a medium of instruction. In Philadelphia, out of 162 Roman Catholic parish schools, 55 are bilingual, 25 German, 16 Polish, 6 Italian, 4 Slav and 1 Lithuanian. The Polish schools, as a rule, divide the school session equally between English and Polish studies; so in one Italian school, while all the other bilingual schools are content with one

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<sup>24</sup>Reference 29, p. 397.

<sup>25</sup>Reference 28, pp. 31-54.



or two hours of the foreign language daily. In the Slav, Polish and Lithuanian schools, and in a slight degree in the Italian schools, the native tongue is used during the first year only, as a medium of instruction; in the German schools even the beginners understand English.<sup>26</sup>

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## A PLEA FOR THE WIDER STUDY OF CLASSICAL LIFE AND HISTORY.

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OF the many reasons given for the continued study of Latin and Greek in our Canadian Universities, the soundest is certainly that without them we remain in ignorance of some of the most important spiritual forces which have shaped, and are still shaping, our race. Just as an Atheist may disbelieve the Christian Metaphysic, yet cannot be either an historian or a political scientist without some knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, so a man may believe in the superiority of Scientific to Classical training, but cannot thoroughly understand modern civilization without some knowledge of that of Greece and of Rome. To enforce such a truth by examples is almost superfluous; but one out of an hundred may be given. Modern France or Germany or the United States or even Great Britain cannot be understood without a knowledge of the French Revolution; and the French Revolution cannot be understood without a knowledge of Plutarch. Yet so wide and varied has been the influence of the Classics upon modern life and letters that nine Oxford tutors, in a recent work upon some aspects of that influence, have been able to fill a very interesting volume without a mention of this author.

Yet for several reasons the increasing recognition that in our Canadian schools and universities, for this generation at least, the primary aim must be the production not of scholars but of citizens has led not to the increased study of the Classics but to their minimization. For this, however, the blame must be placed at least as much on the Classicist as on the Philistine. Very little appreciation has been shown by the Classicist of the truth that knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages need not necessarily be as wide as knowledge of Greek and Roman history and civilization. Most of us are content to get our knowledge of the equally important and varied contributions of the Hebrews to modern life from a translation of selected portions of their literature. The student of Russian life and literature is usually fain to employ an English or French version of Tolstoi or Turgenieff. But to mention the

possibility of studying Greece and Rome in translation is almost invariably to provoke the sniff of superiority.

But what is the present situation in Queen's University? The history of Greek civilization is studied only by those who take the class in Greek, a comparatively small and not increasing number. Scraps are picked up by the students in other subjects, more especially by those in Latin and in Philosophy; but the ugly fact remains that the average student of Queen's University graduates with little more knowledge of the history and literature of Greece than of that of China. Yet if we are to choose between the two, it is almost impossible to deny that great as have been the gifts of Republican and Imperial Rome to the modern world, those of Greece are even greater, and are indeed incalculable. Equally true is it that the civilization of Rome, influenced at every point by and in great measure derived from that of Greece, suffers being studied in isolation.

Latin, though deprived of much of its value by its separation from its elder brother, is in better case. Save by great ingenuity or by the uncovenanted mercies of the Faculty, a student can hardly call himself a Bachelor or a Master of Arts without some knowledge of the tongue of Cicero and Vergil. Unfortunately, even if unavoidably, the history of the literature and of the civilization of Rome is not taken up to any great extent until the class in Preliminary Honours, to attain to which is the privilege of comparatively few. Nor is the Preliminary Honours Class in Latin the best place for such studies. In the attempt to do justice to them the study of the Latin language, which is more properly the work of the class, runs the risk of being sacrificed.

What is the remedy for this most unsatisfactory state of affairs? To remove the study of Greek and Roman History from the present congested classes in Greek and Latin, to confine these classes to their legitimate function of teaching language and literature, and to make the study of Classical civilization a class by itself. And now one enters into the realm of detail, i.e. of acute controversy. Yet, mindful though I am of the truth of Mr. Shaw's dictum that "it is the little things that wreck you at the harbour mouth," into a certain amount of detail I must go.



What is such a class to teach? How far shall it deal with history and how far with literature? The exact answer to this, and the exact text-books to be prescribed, can only be given after some years of experiment. But one definite rule at least may be fearlessly laid down. The text-books must in part, if possible in great part, consist of translations from classical authors. The repugnance among teachers of the Classics to making use of a large part of the work of their predecessors is really very curious. The result has been that the work of Jowett or of Gilbert Murray has been degraded to the level of a "crib", and its educational value lost. One really feels inclined to ask the strict devotee of the original tongues why his eminent forerunners took the trouble they did to turn Thucydides or Euripides into mere English if the two languages are so essentially different that the result has only the value of a "Kelly's key." It is of course true that, with the possible exception of Plutarch, whom most of us are content to read in translation, as were Shakespeare, Racine, Corneille, and for the most part Montaigne, no translations of the Classics represent the originals on an absolute equality. It is true that, as an Oxford tutor once said to me in sole answer to my plea for translations in their nobler aspect, you cannot find a full English equivalent for the Greek *αρμονια*. But then it is also true that the average student of Senior or even of Preliminary Honour Greek, by the time he has with dictionary and crib unlocked the secrets of Plato or Sophocles, is quite satisfied with 'harmony,' as rough equivalent, and is minus a very considerable amount of time. For all save the advanced scholar, a larger portion of the full meaning of Plato is almost certainly obtained by the reading of the whole five volumes of Jowett's translation than by the student of the original who has consumed the same amount of time in stumbling through the *Apology* and the *Phaedo*. With the historians, with whom I am at present more especially concerned, this is still more true. With the poets the case is a little different, yet Gilbert Murray certainly gives me more of Euripides than I got at Queen's by a toilsome reading of the *Medea* in the original, and in despite of Matthew Arnold and of Bentley I still maintain that Pope and Chapman give the average Canadian at least as much idea of the width and wealth of Homer as he will get by construing

a few hundred lines into his own very imperfectly understood mother-tongue.

To repeat the argument from analogy. Though John Milton had studied the Hebrew tongue, he was for the most part content to read Hebrew literature and to study Hebrew history in an English translation. Most of us consider that the savour of Tolstoi or of Dostoieffsky does not wholly evaporate when distilled into English. Good judges have held that Coleridge's translations of the Wallenstein trilogy are superior to the original of Schiller. Surely the essence of the Classics is not so wholly incommunicable as its would-be defenders imply.

But the question is no longer one of alternatives. Put so, my meaning may seem obscure to teachers of Classics, who in Canada are a little apt to look on themselves as garrisoning a beleaguered Ilium, and to look askance on any bearer of Grecian gifts. I have no more thought of 'watering down' the study of the Classics in the original than in sounding the praises of the English Bible I am having a stealthy stab at my friend the Professor of Hebrew. Something is undoubtedly lost by reading an author only in translation. Wonderful as is the Authorized Version of the Bible, one comes closer to the Hero of the Gospel Story in the rough Greek of the original, and from Plato to Jowett is a greater drop. But admitting more lavishly than I do the imperfections of the best translation, it is to-day in Canada a question of the translation or of nothing. The average Queen's man who takes the class I adumbrate will doubtless have less knowledge of the Classics than had the English school boy in the days of Fox or of Macaulay; but those days are gone, and are not likely to be seen again in the New World. The question is whether we shall allow many of our graduates to remain in crass ignorance of two of the main streams whence our civilization flows, or whether we shall take the only method which will allow them at least some small draught of those life-giving waters. Such a class would be a stimulus both to the Professor of Classics and to the student. It would enable the Professor to appeal to a larger audience, and to make his influence more widely felt; it might probably incite an occasional student to proceed from the translation to the original.



A more general criticism of the proposed class must here be discussed, and may be summed up in the words of Mr. W. B. Yeats. "On going to the United States," said that gifted soul, "I was at first puzzled to understand the function of the American Professor. He did not exist to teach; for no one wanted to learn. He did not exist to study; for he knew nothing. But now I have solved the mystery. *He exists to emotionalize a district.*". Given the wrong teacher, and a class in Classical Life and History might lose solidity and in time become so superficial as to be mainly sought after by young women on the lookout for a new thrill. But the same criticism was made in former days of the reckless innovators who wished to introduce into our Universities the study of English Literature and of Modern History. They would fall, it was prophesied, into the Scylla of "tittle-tattle about Shelley and Harriet," or the Charybdis of pompous inanities about "streams of tendency." Yet the study of English Literature and of Modern History came in, and did infinitely more good than harm. The emotionalizing Professor is a real danger; but I see no reason to suppose that translations of the Classics are an especially favourable breeding-ground for him. He can always be kept at a suitable distance by wise trustees and a wise curriculum.

Who shall take this class? I would fain reply "Everybody", but lest I be thought a fanatic I will content myself by recommending its prescription for all Honor students in Latin, Greek, Modern History, and Political Science. Unless I am much mistaken, the Professors of English Literature and of Philosophy will not long allow their lambs to remain outside so rich a pasture. In all these subjects the Honour courses will be in every way improved by the addition. Who is to teach the new class? Possibly when a new instructor is to be appointed in the Department of Latin the proviso might be made that his first duty shall be to lecture three times a week at least in the new class.

These and other details I leave to my academic superiors. The main thing is for Queen's University to bear in mind that every student of Mediaeval and Modern History, of Political Science and of English Literature, is truncated if without a knowledge of the civilization of Greece and of Rome; that at present too few such students at Queen's University get such



knowledge; and that under present conditions of Canadian life, such knowledge can be obtained by many only at second-hand, and preferably from carefully chosen translations. Some will still kneel at the fountain itself, and as they drink catch exquisite intimate glimpses of the Muses and of Apollo; but such worshippers are all too few; and the god of Delphi will not disdain the larger throng who may hope to taste of the Castalian fount only when piped off into a translation.

W. L. GRANT.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

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### *The Position of the United States.*

Since the publication of the last Quarterly the statement of Secretary Lansing that his country might be on the verge of war if peace was not soon arranged has turned out to be a correct forecast. If events have not moved rapidly they have gone steadily forward in that direction. It seems that in his efforts for peace President Wilson was influenced not merely by large humanitarian considerations but by the fact that the position of his own country was becoming constantly more difficult. It was in a sense unfortunate that immediately after the British Premier had stated that President Wilson had forwarded the German peace proposals "without comment" he sent his own demands for a formulation of the terms of peace. A mere coincidence no doubt but open to misconstruction on the part of those who are in a sensitive if not irritable condition. The phrase "peace without victory", and the statement that the aims of the two parties as given by their public men seemed to be the same did not help matters. His message at first produced irritation and then was seen to be open to a variety of interpretations, the most favourable of them being at last accepted by the Allies,—while Germany professed to support any effort in the direction of peace.

The result at that stage was that Germany had offered peace to the world, this had been rejected, but it had, in connection with President Wilson's appeal, drawn from the Allies a full, if not complete list of their war aims. This document was followed by a supplementary statement, addressed to the United States, by the British Foreign Minister, Right Hon. A. Balfour, expounding in a clear and forcible manner the reasons for rejecting the German proposals, the objects that Britain has in view, and the justification for prolonging the terrible conflict. In the meantime Germany claimed the credit of offering peace to the world, showing a willingness to end the world-tragedy, and even offering to place herself at the head of a movement for securing the permanent peace of mankind. True, the offer was made in an arrogant patronising tone, in terms that were utterly vague and non-committal, that conveyed no

real information to the outside world, and were simply meant to silence the clamour of certain sections of her own people. The Imperial Chancellor, speaking on Feb. 27th, expressed the view that in this regard his own position was the only possible one consistent with wisdom and honour. "To make promises or formulate detailed conditions would, in my position be unproductive and hazardous. Hostile leaders have done this abundantly. They gave extravagant assurances to each other, but they only secured by this that they themselves and their nations were more deeply involved in the war. Their example does not tempt me. What I could say about the tendency and aim of our conditions I have said repeatedly—to terminate the war by a lasting peace which grants us reparation for all wrongs suffered and guarantees the existence in the future of a strong Germany; that is our aim, nothing less and nothing more." These words convey no definite information except that the nation that ruined innocent Belgium and devastated northern France coolly asks for "reparation". All we can hope is that the Germans will be driven back and the Chancellor's "war-map" sufficiently altered to bring a more modest frame of mind.

Thus the way was prepared for Germany's final effort, the ruthless submarine warfare, an attempt to starve Britain, and paralyze the world's commerce. The American people who had read many times of the murder of their citizens, who had been presented with the startling picture of their own war ships rescuing the victims of this frightfulness at their own doors were now informed that they must keep their ships out of the "barred zone" but they might send one ship a week to Falmouth if it was decorated according to a prescribed pattern. This led to the rupture of diplomatic relations and the departure of Bernstorff and his glorious army of spies. For a time shipping was held up in United States ports and there was considerable uncertainty as to what if any effective action would be taken. Before many days pass away Congress will have made its decision and the signs point to warlike action on the part of a Government that cannot be reproached with lack of patience or pacificism.

The German Government justifies its action on the ground that the promises made after the Sussex outrage were con-



ditional on the success of the United States in causing Britain to "observe international law" and raise or relieve the blockade. The United States, however, accepted those promises at the time with the clear statement that these two distinct affairs were not to be confused. The Chancellor now tells us that the difficulties of neutrals are "after all caused by England's tyranny of the seas. We will and shall break this enslavement of all non-English trade. We will meet half-way all the wishes of neutrals that can be complied with. But in our endeavour to do so we can never go beyond the limits imposed upon us by the irrevocable decision to reach our aim of the establishment of a barred zone. I am sure that later a moment will come when neutrals themselves will thank us for our firmness; for the freedom of the oceans which we gain by fighting is also of advantage to them, as is known by European neutrals." This ponderous nonsense no doubt gave great satisfaction to the members of a Parliament whose chief privilege is to listen and obey. The neutrals whose ships are sunk and their sailors murdered can scarcely reach a high pitch of thankfulness just now. The meaning of it all seems to be that after careful calculation the German High Command has come to the conclusion that ruthless submarine warfare can cripple the resources of the Allies before a military decision against their own armies is possible, and their conviction of this is so strong that they are willing to face a break with the United States, either believing that before this can have any real influence the war will be over, or that the addition of another powerful enemy will explain their defeat to their people.

#### *The Submarine Warfare.*

As to the submarine warfare we know that it is bad enough and the German Chancellor professes to be quite satisfied. He says that as they did not establish a blockade but only definite barred zones where ships have to count upon immediate attack "isolated ships escape danger." He does not give his audience any idea of the numbers of these "isolated ships." "But this does not change the total success. This success we shall be able to obtain partly by sinking and partly by discouraging neutral shipping, a success which has already happened in the widest sense. Thanks to the incomparable

bravery of our submarine crew we are entitled to await with full confidence further development, which will be increasingly important."

Sir Edward Carson throws some light on the "isolated ships". He says "For the first 18 days of February we had arrivals in port of 6,076 ships, and we had clearances for the same 18 days of 5,873 ships, that together shows an enormous amount of shipping which still goes on, notwithstanding the German blockade. You may take it from me that the estimated number of ships in the danger zone at any one time—I mean the danger zone at home—is about 3,000. The losses are bad enough and they are dangerous enough but they are not equal to the blatant and extravagant bravado of the German accounts." He quotes an intercepted message to New York from the *Deutscher Tageblatt* "they are taking into account that at first the increasing sinkings will not be so very great as they would wish but the submarine scare has been thrown into the English with paralysing effect, and the whole sea was as if swept clean with one blow. It caused us nearly joy that the English Government has seen itself the necessity to forbid publication of ships' losses." To which he replies that "there is not a particle of truth in this statement." He justifies the Admiralty's policy of silence as to the fate of enemy submarines. "A submarine starts out on its campaign of murder, and all the enemy know is that it does not return home. What has happened is a complete mystery. The enemy cannot tell whether the submarine was lost from defect of construction or design—which is a very important matter—or some error of navigation, or whether her loss was due to one or other of the methods that the British Admiralty has devised for her destruction." But the cheering fact after all is that "frightfulness" does not frighten. "I am encouraged by the fact that I have not yet heard of one sailor who has refused to sail. That is what is going to win the war, and, however Neutrals may have been nervous and frightened, you will see our example spread, and you will see as the days go on that the Neutrals will resume their sailings." In the face of all this it should be much more than a mere conventional reflection that we who stay at home owe a great debt of gratitude to the sturdy men who "go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters."



*Canada at War.*

It was possible to discuss the question of Canada's relation to British wars and to imagine a war in which we need not join but when this war came it was immediately seen to be "a world war," a gigantic affair involving such vast issues that to decline the call of duty was to fall into a provincial and even a parochial condition. The instinct of Canadians was sound and many felt that loyalty to something even larger than the British Empire was implied. The higher life of humanity was at stake, and after two and a half years of awful strife we have seen the great mass of our neighbours to the South driven to the same conclusion. Those of us who live in this land and love it have much reason to be proud and grateful. Many of our noblest young men have shed their blood in the great cause, our women have toiled faithfully in works of mercy, people of slender means as well as those of great wealth have given generously to patriotic funds, and three successful war-loans have been floated. The general desire has not been that all this energy should be exploited for the benefit of "profiteers" or the glory of politicians but wisely directed to the great end in view. Of its record so far in the great war Canada has no reason to be ashamed, and those who have done and suffered most are precisely those who are most determined to see the great thing through to its proper end.

That, however, is the bright side of the picture; one would be glad to say that this awful tragedy had really made a deep impression on our general social and political life. Of course we cannot realise what it means to stricken Belgium and devastated France; even the vivid pictures furnished by our war correspondents seem to belong to a far off unreal world. There is an element of mercy in that fact so far as the individual imagination is concerned. But we can not be proud that since the war started we have had so many scandals and bitter controversies. This page is not the place for political controversy and the individual writer is alone responsible for his views but we cannot claim in our civic life to have risen to heroic heights corresponding to the deeds of those men who have shed their blood for us.

Canada is like Germany in one respect, it has managed so far to pull through without any revolution or coalition govern-



ment. Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, President Wilson, and Sir R. Borden have maintained their position. The Czar seems to have lost his throne, and various able Premiers have resigned or have been shoved aside but we have enjoyed stable government. But many have asked whether it would not have been better to have made a serious attempt at a non-party government for the duration of the war, especially as on account of the special circumstances the term of Parliament had to be lengthened. We know that there are difficulties in a wide land of sparse and diverse population, but when all allowances are made the uneasy question arises have we really done our best to support the real fighters? Such a crisis involves new organizations and the expenditure of vast sums of money and would it not be both fair and wise that men of all parties should share in the privileges and responsibilities. Mutual recriminations and attempts of any class to monopolise patriotism are repulsive to fair-minded men. If one party clings to its powers and prerogatives, the other is justified in performing the duty of an opposition, that is criticism, and criticism may sometimes be extreme.

We cannot at any rate complain of stagnation. We have had plenty of discussions and elections, a large amount of drastic temperance legislation, and a mild revolution in the form of "Votes for Women", and a proposal that the ladies should take their place in the legislature. Visitors to and from Quebec have endeavoured to promote the *bonne entente*, but Mr. Hocken and Mr. Lavergne are not worrying much about the noble movement. The latter gentleman has been denouncing the "Bosches" of Ontario for hindering the teaching of French and promoting the teaching of German. According to the newspaper report he appears to have denounced every body except the Germans. He appears to think that the idea of Britain fighting for any thing except commerce is a "legend" and German atrocities also seem to be "legends". That large crowds can be got together to listen to that kind of rubbish gives one furiously to think, as our French friends say. It is evident that a man can talk French fluently without being touched by the real French spirit. On the other hand Mr. Blondin throws up his position in the government to encourage recruiting and place himself at the head of a band of French-Canadians. Well we need not be discouraged, it is by free dis-

cussion and often through much friction that a higher unity is reached. Stagnation is not desirable and perfect harmony is out of reach, but living under the shadow of such a great tragedy invites us to postpone unnecessary discussions and so far as possible to co-operate in the great task which before it is achieved will tax all the resources of our great Empire. Canadian autonomy will survive the strain and the real bonds of unity will be all the stronger if politicians and the rest of us will have more faith in the real human forces than in the artificial mechanism.

W. G. JORDAN.

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*Winter 1916-17.*

The Entente have gained two new Allies in the last month—the United States and the Government of Russia. The political aspects of these great accessions will be considered later. But both of them depend upon the course of the war during the past winter, so that some recapitulation of its stages is necessary as a background. The chief events of this season have been the Roumanian campaign, the German offer of peace, its rejection and the consequent intensifying of submarine warfare, and the crumbling of the Somme line that led to the present withdrawal. Yet, now that the events have been named in order, the perspective they suggest is false. For all these activities depend upon two main factors, the great struggle on the Somme which has broken up German organizations and gravely depleted their reserves, and that continuous pressure, now most deadly, of the Navy upon German resources in food and material. On the Western front, by land and sea, a decision is being forced. At this date it is not necessary to emphasize the growing mastery of the Allies in attack. But it may be worth while to recall how that mastery has been gained. The sum of the matter is that between July 1 and November 13 the Germans were obliged to throw into the Somme area at least once and sometimes three times every division on the Western front *save five*. The five divisions which had been exempted from this ordeal were deliberately chosen by General Nivelle as the object of his great attack at Verdun in December, and there broken up like their fellows on the Somme. To accomplish this last feat the French used only



four divisions. It is said that before the first trial of the new method General Nivelle told M. Briand\* his exact time-table, the ground to be covered at each stage, the number captured and his total loss, which was to be smaller than the number of prisoners. Except that his troops captured more than he expected, all fell out as planned.

This fight proved that the Allies had developed a method of attack which prevailed against the best remaining enemy troops, which inflicted far heavier losses on defenders than on attackers, and which could actually be carried out by fewer men. It foreshadowed a growing discrepancy between the Western powers and their enemy, because in modern warfare brains and machinery give an immense advantage to the winning side. This French victory followed three months of special training for the troops engaged, in which each individual practised his part till all was exact. The method, then, depends on a high degree of intelligence and discipline in the attacking force. Consider on the other hand the veteran German divisions withdrawn successively from the Somme and Verdun, withdrawn not for rest—the pressure was too great for that—but for necessary reorganization. They were filled up with men above or at the lower limit of the military age, who in many cases were put in line after three months' training in all. Such troops cannot be used with security in action requiring much individual initiative. In a war of movement particularly, physical fitness and training will tell more than in trench warfare. It seems probable then that the Germans will find it increasingly hard to imitate or cope with the Allied method. Further, the German divisions are kept up—and even increased in number—by lessening the proportion of infantry to guns. As infantry decides in the last resort, this alone tells a tale. There is of course no question of a palpable and sudden decline in German strength. Their numbers in arms are now larger than ever before, a sign that the supreme test is expected this year. These are, however, the elements of deterioration which are now working and which may be expected to tell decisively at some later stage. In short, the question is not only how many men are now in line, but how many men and of what quality are behind the line. In so far as the

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\*M. Briand stated this in an interview.



Germans hold their present extended lines on East and West, it seems to be agreed that their reserves can hardly outlast the present season. Consequently experts discount the likelihood of any attack on France through Switzerland, still less the chimera of an invasion of France by way of Italy. Longer communications and a greater front are not luxuries that a failing power can afford to indulge in. The example of Napoleon's Peninsular campaign—the 'Spanish ulcer'—with its effect on the central theatre of war amply shows the danger of that.

The German problem then, with exhaustion in men and something like scarcity, if not exhaustion, in food and material in sight, was and is to force a decision before the period of rapid decline sets in. A declining power, said General Foch long ago, is bound to attack. For a time-limit to its effective power is inexorably set before it. The submarine campaign is avowedly such a method of securing a decision before the end of the summer. Indeed, the theory attributed to General von Emmich, which is said to have some vogue in German official circles, may be a disguised avowal of this principle. After the failure of the great offensives when 'hold out' became the new watchword, it was suggested that every war had a natural time-limit, after which neither belligerent could secure a victory, so that peace would then come by compromise. It therefore became the object of the Central Powers to set that limit for their enemies before they themselves became exhausted. While it would be absurd to explain all German policy by this guiding principle, undoubtedly the speeches of her leaders and her action in the field reflect its influence. It is true that the entry of the United States with all her force puts a different aspect on the theory. But, as will be argued presently, it seems not unlikely that the time limit the Germans calculate upon falls at some date *before* the armies of America can intervene at all effectively in the field. The vital point, then, for the present is whether Great Britain and France can use their actual superiority with decisive effect before their period of decline sets in. All German efforts for a separate peace with Russia had this end in view; had they succeeded, then the balance in the West would have been much more even, and Germany reckoned on entering the peace conference with her gains in the East secure. To sum up, Germany had consoli-

dated her position in Central Europe and gained a road through the Balkan Peninsula to the Near East; she had failed to gain access to the western sea and still had to fear a military decision in the West. How could she force an end to the war that would leave intact her political gains and avert disaster in the West?

The Roumanian campaign was the first step. As is now admitted, the Roumanians subordinated military to political ends in invading Transylvania. As a result their divided forces had to withstand blows from two sides, and had to assume the defensive. In order to crush her the Germans concentrated a precious part of their remaining mass of manoeuvre, thus hazarding part of the reserves needed for this year.† Falkenhayn's first effort was to cut the communications with Russia by forcing the northern passes. He failed absolutely and the attack moved west. There too the Roumanians at first held out. There is good reason for believing that his final success in the western passes was due to a sudden failure in Roumanian munitions. For at first he made no impression, as was said; then the Roumanian armies steadily retreated without making any stand or (except on one occasion) losing many prisoners. It is also arguable that the German commanders knew this. For their attack was of the familiar German type—two columns moving separately and blasting their way with heavy guns. Now, for reasons of gradients, there was only one pass over which such guns could be munitioned. It is therefore argued that no commander could allow his communications to depend upon a single gorge—that was its nature—from which he was daily drawn further, unless he was reasonably certain that his enemy had not the power, through lack of munitions, to strike at his flank and rear. The question of communications, then, stood like this. Roumania depended for her supplies on a line running from England through Archangel and the whole length of Russia. (There are curious stories of munitions being lost in the Ural mountains). On the other hand, the German lines were inconveniently long, since the communications had to traverse the corridor of Wallachia, south of the Carpathians. It therefore became essential

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†Colonel Feyler asserts that this mass of manoeuvre was intended to be used against Russia, after which a separate peace might be concluded.



to cut through the northern passes, when a short line would be established and the Russo-Roumanian army outflanked. If this effort succeeded, then the Balkans, including the Danube, would be in German hands. If it failed, then the Central Powers would have to maintain an extensive line while subject to pressure on two sides, from Salonika and from Moldavia.\* In that case the conquest of Wallachia would be a fresh commitment at an awkward time. The first effect was that General Brussilof had to withdraw his mass of manoeuvre from Galicia to hold the Sereth line. The bitter German attacks one after the other on the extremes and the centre of this line failed absolutely. They neither pierced the line nor secured the vital passes. Again they had 'shot their bolt,' and the offer of peace came. No doubt it would have come in any case, but they had not gained the complete triumph for which they had strained every nerve and sacrificed valuable reserves, and they were left with the disadvantage of a longer front and awkward communications. The significance of this was pressed home by the great Russian attack in the Riga district.

Little need be said here of that offer of peace. Naturally it was based on territorial considerations, because the Germans, for the sake of their own moral, were obliged to lay stress on their political gains in the East, which were secure if the Allies had consented to parley. But as the territorial gains did not represent the military situation, the Allies were bound to refuse. Fortunately for their relation to neutrals, the manner of Germany's offer and her refusal to state terms offset any doubt the most innocent might have had about her real motives. Peace at that time would have secured to Germany that Eastern Empire which Napoleon aimed at but never attained. In the next war she would have been fighting against the British Empire on interior lines, lines that could threaten Egypt and India and work havoc upon our sea-com-

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\*The result of the conference at Rome seems to be that the Italians have at last consented to place a large army in Epirus. As the strain of maintaining the Salonika force must now be considerable, owing to the tonnage needed and the vulnerability of sea-communications, this step has great importance. The communications across the Adriatic are comparatively easily guarded. It has been suggested by competent authorities that the Salonika expedition should be served from Italy, and, if possible, by Greek railways.



munications with instruments more formidable than the present-day submarines.

It is our good fortune that these vessels are still at a comparatively early stage of development. There seems to be no good reason for entirely refusing to believe the Chancellor when he stated that the unlimited warfare was not launched till this year because only now did the experts feel that the campaign would be effective. But now, after peace was refused, the submarines became the main hope of exercising pressure on Germany's chief enemy.† It was to turn the screw on Great Britain before the next harvest, and had a fighting chance of being, if not fatal, at least extremely serious. One immediate effect was to help the German people to wait six months in hope that the British would suffer more than they. This was at least a greater encouragement than the frequent grim admonitions which officials have lately administered to them, that even peace could not relieve the scarcity of food for months. The weakness of that argument is that the later peace comes, the longer may be the time of stringency after it. Fortunately the British authorities have disdained to practise the insincere optimism which Admiral von Capelle seems to think the best diet for his countrymen. They use 'naval language', and are quite explicit about the gravity of the threat. No speeches could be plainer or more fitting to a great crisis than those of Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Carson. Roughly speaking, England must import food and raw material, and she exports manufactured goods. At present, the essential exports of the latter are the material for the Allied armies, and this takes up a considerable portion of her shipping. If, then, the submarines can seriously clog imports or exports by sinking merchant vessels, the whole fabric of the Allied power is sapped. Germany, of course, reckoned not

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†I add an extract from a set of secret instructions to the press issued by the General Command of the 7th Army Corps at Münster: "It is a question not of a movement of desperation—all the factors have been carefully weighed after conscientious technical naval preparation—but of the best and only means to a speedy and victorious ending of the war." Of course this is not an objective judgment; it dictates the tone which newspapers are to assume. Likewise, be it noted, in consideration for America, they are not to speak of "ruthless warfare," but of "unlimited warfare." Naturally this was written in February.

only upon the absolute loss in ships, but upon the diversion of neutral traders to safer routes. How did the Head Quarters Staff expect America to act? We can set aside the simulated astonishment of the Chancellor at breaking of relations; and it does not seem necessary to assume that he again entirely misjudged the course President Wilson chose, though he may have miscalculated the speed with which the United States would force the issue. The following are possible factors in the German choice:—at the worst the U. S. army cannot intervene effectively for a year, and by that time we shall be doomed unless we can force peace; our submarine weapon may do that, therefore we must gamble on it; after all, if we are to be defeated the number of enemies doesn't matter; what does matter is to cripple the forces *at this moment* in the field against us;\* we know how slow the U. S. has been to move against us; if she does at last declare war she may concentrate on her own preparations for an entry which will fall after the time limit we are setting for ourselves; and in any case we can give her small army plenty of occupation on her borders and internally; after all, her object in the war is limited, while the Allies are set upon making a new Europe; so it will be hard if we are not able to play the one set of aims against the other to our advantage. It does seem likely that the German Foreign Office misjudged the common sense of the great nation they forced into war. If the United States declared war because of the submarines, her pride forced her to use every effort to render this campaign nugatory. Hence the first business she has set herself is to provide food and ships and material for the Allies. That precious 'wind-egg' of Mr. Bryan, the suggestion that the States should avoid the contaminating touch of the Allies and conduct a pure warfare of her own hereafter, did not commend itself to a practical nation. The British Navy is doubtless able to cope with the submarines alone; but in warfare it is

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\*The last English mail brings a quotation so apposite that it may be added. It is by Professor Jannasch of Berlin: "Germany's policy obviously is to accomplish as quickly as possible, with all the means at her disposal, the utter and complete defeat of England, and then to come to terms with America and the rest of the world." In short, the submarine campaign is the best means of attack left to a failing power, and Germany reckons on the hostility, but not on the implacable resolve of America to defeat her.



impossible to make too sure of success, and it is fitting that the denial of all civilized rights by the Germans should knit civilization to defeat it.

Naval pressure, it has often been said, is cumulatively effective, but is very slow, so that there is danger of neutrals intervening against the dominant naval power. The attacks against our Foreign Office over the conduct of the blockade may have been in part well grounded, but the gradual tightening does not of itself justify critics. After three years Germany is in bitter need, and the greatest neutral has joined the greatest naval force. Had the blockade been conducted without regard to law or the world's opinion, would that have happened? The Navy has forced Germany to show herself as the enemy of the human race. That is a result worth some patience, even though it does not appeal to our melodramatists in the clubs and press. It is a great triumph for Allied diplomacy. At the end of last year the Northcliffe papers were booming the methods of Count Bernstorff, and suggesting the recall of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, who was too quiet to suit the hustle press. There is something infantile in the notion that Bernstorff was *persona grata* in Washington, where, no doubt, his *dossier* has been quietly kept through the plots and manoeuvres of these last years. After all, decent respect for the country to which an ambassador is accredited has its advantages, and his best fame is, like the Athenian women, to have no fame. When history comes to sum up the amazing efforts of Germany to win influence in other countries, the verdict will not unlikely be that no amount of knowledge or cleverness could in the long run dupe mankind into sanction of policies blatantly self-regarding and evil. On that rock, to take only one example, the dexterous offer of peace was split. Therefore such machinations lose touch with reality. The crowning folly of this sort was the fantastic plan to embroil Mexico and Japan with the United States. To conceive such a scheme was stupid, but to be found out—no epithet can do justice to such incompetence.

Last, we turn to the Western front. The retirement on the Somme has provoked very different comments, but its conditions appear to be fairly clear. After the British had reached the watershed of the Somme and Scheldt, the Germans



could not remain in positions exposed to their fire. This was the expected result of the Somme battle. On the other hand, the Germans retired to gain such strategical advantage as was open to a force that had been hammered out of eighty miles of trenches—the strongest fortifications ever known. They straightened their line, fell back on positions which were relatively well fortified, though in no way equal to those which they had been forced to relinquish, and they apparently hoped to throw the immense preparations of the Allies into confusion. That they have not succeeded in this may be inferred from the brilliant success of the Canadian and British troops between Arras and Lens. It will probably be a long time before the tactics of the retirement and pursuit are revealed to the public. The *London Nation* has distinguished itself by proclaiming the German withdrawal as a great triumph for Germany; it speaks of the late-won laurels of the Somme, of our faltering pursuit, and so forth, in bitter innuendo. These outbursts of spleen could not possibly be based on knowledge. Only a soldier knowing the details of the engagements could judge aright. It is clear from the number of prisoners that the Germans withdrew in an orderly manner. But it might have occurred to minds less determined to find fault that if the British advanced more slowly than the French, it is usual for a line to move slowly near its hinge, in this case Arras, and more rapidly at the farthest flank, in this case near La Fère. It might also be considered that to move material over the broken land of the Somme needed time, while to outstrip the material was to invite disaster. Of course the Germans have done the best for themselves, but that best is a second-best. As Colonel Feyler, the eminent Swiss critic puts it: "The Germans continue to undergo defeat conformably to their plan." The Allies are now opening the season by making a new and dangerous salient. With their superiority in guns, it appears to be increasingly easy to create such salients. And from Vimy Ridge, the long-desired and at last attained, they dominate the plains of Artois and Flanders. It is a good omen for the terrible struggle now opening.

*Russia.*

The historian of the English Civil Wars once said that no revolution took place from mere economic reasons, or for purely ideal motives, but that where the two were joined, an irresistible force was set in motion. Both elements are present in the great change that has come over Russia, and we are led to hope that the Romanoffs have been finally swept away, whatever vicissitudes still lie before the Russian people. The motto of the reaction has been, 'the war first, and reform after,' but it became only too clear that they meant to thwart the efforts of the nation in war lest reform should come of them. The murder of the wretched Rasputin was the first sign of the storm, and ministers and Tsar then rushed on their fate. All the healthy activities of the nation were rigidly suppressed. Protopopoff dissolved the Unions of the cities and Zemstvos, those vigorous local organizations which have done so much to succour the Russian armies. He also imprisoned the working class members of the Committee of Industries, a body essential to the conduct of the war and of high political importance. Not content to throttle every political and national aspiration, he seems to have deliberately interfered with the feeding of the great cities, presumably to create discontent with the war. Whether this act was simply due to incompetence or to policy, no measure was taken to cope with a most critical situation. Hence the Government itself managed to fuse the economic with the ideal motives for a revolution\*, the workers rose in

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\*I quote a revolutionary manifesto: "You want bread; you want Russian freedom." And the operation of these motives has not yet ceased, it is as well to note; for the document continues: "You want bread; you want liberty and peace." The first clause threatened the old regime, the second still holds a menace for the new. It may be that this, like other similar productions, has been issued by the reactionaries to inflame the socialists against the present Ministry.

the great cities, and the Duma assumed the functions of distributing provisions and carrying on the state. Happily for the nation, the army had also a moral and an economic grievance against the old regime, and sided with the Revolution. Our generation has seen too much of revolutions beginning in high hopes and ending in chaos or tyranny to have no apprehensions for the future; at the best a revolution is a matter of many



years, and this dates only from the abortive attempt of 1905. But the step had to be taken; it has saved Russia from herself for the present, and lifted a great burden of doubt from the Allies.

It must be remembered, however, that the present Government has even more than the ordinary instability of a provisional administration. The Duma, on which it is based, was not elected like the first Duma on a representative franchise. Alongside of it is the Committee of labour deputies and soldiers, which is much more radical in tone. Where men, as in Russia, have been unable to express their political ideas in action, there is bound to be an immense amount of impracticable idealism; parties are tempted to be intransigent and to insist on getting their full programme since yesterday they could get nothing. For the present a working arrangement has been made, and the entry of M. Kerenski, the leader of the extreme Left, into the Ministry, encourages the hope that the two wings of the Revolution may work together. When the Constituent Assembly meets, it will at last be possible to focus all the voices of new Russia in one body. Happily the war may act as a restraining force. For the enemy lies in Russian borders, and no one can well argue that the task of driving him out is an Imperialist adventure. The men now governing Russia are not mere visionaries. The bodies they have organized have been the most effective agencies in aiding the armies in the field. The Committee of Industries and the Zemstvo Committees have been directed by members of the present Government, who are at last enabled to pursue their task unhampered by the reactionaries. Russia has not therefore lapsed into chaos; on the contrary, it is clear from the very frank statements of the present Government that the method of their predecessors was to rule by producing chaos. "This great national war," said M. Miliukoff in December, 1915, "is conducted by the Government as an enterprise foreign to the nation. The social and national forces are not called upon to share in it fully." And Prince Lyof added on the same occasion: "We must mobilize our forces. Russia as a whole should be fused into a compact organization of war." These men are now in a position to carry their policy, though late in the day, into effect.



No one can forecast the effect of this great change upon the war. We cannot hope for much aid from a Russia thrown into confusion of design by her late rulers and now in the throes of rebirth.\* Of the past one thing may fairly be said, that until now a leading factor in the Allied diplomacy in the Balkans was simply not known. We cannot tell how the Russian Government acted in Roumania and in Greece, or what obstacles the Western Powers had to cope with. As for the future, it seemed as if an Easterner like von Hindenburg would be tempted to throw his remaining mass of manoeuvre against Russia before she had time to draw breath. But there are strong arguments against this course. Time is precious, and he would have to await the end of the spring floods. He is hardly free to do as he will at this stage. Supposing that he crushed Russia, his Western enemies would be stronger than ever, and he could not at the best hope for a peace this year. The autumn would find him with his mass of manoeuvre used up against Russia. And what would the British and French be doing in the meanwhile? The meaning of the initiative they possess is that they can compel the enemy to place his mass of manoeuvre where they will, as we saw in the battle of the Somme last year. The Germans are forced to remain on the defensive while they are hammered, are forced to retire because they can no longer hold their lines, are forced to pour in men unless they are to become entirely disorganized. Politically, the argument seems to turn the same way. The old Russia might be bribed by a promise of spoil and support against internal trouble, or it could be beaten and then bribed. But that is hardly possible with the new. No doubt the Germans are already fishing in troubled waters,† employing their Socialist emissaries to babble of peace and brotherhood to Russian Socialists, but to strike a blow at the new Russia

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\*It should be remembered that no German seems to deny that the change is a menace to them. Hindenburg cannot afford to neglect the possibility of a Russian attack in the East.

†The natural means would be to stir up the Left against the Centre. Already we have seen how Germany has used American pacificism for its purposes. It is hardly necessary to add that the reactionaries, so far as they dare, will use both Germany and the Socialists against the new Government. History gives repeated instances of such unnatural unions of the extremes against the moderates.

would alienate their own Socialists and might fuse Russia into a determined unity. None of these considerations can be taken as decisive, but the whole seems to indicate that Hindenburg will have to seek a decision in the West as his primary end.

The effect of the Revolution outside is already considerable. The Chancellor hastened to anticipate the storm by promising political concessions in Germany. This was on the 14th of March, and the Revolution had taken place the evening before. The flimsy official apology, that he could not then have known of the events in Petrograd, only underlines the meaning of his manoeuvre. He knew, and his hearers did not, so that he seemed to offer voluntarily what he feared might be forced from him. This action sets in relief the real fears of the governing class in Germany. It is useless to attempt to prophesy when the day of reckoning will come, before the peace or after. But from the character of the Imperial Government we can be fairly confident that satisfactory concessions will never be made. There will be the appearance of political change, and generous vague promises to temper the impact of the storm. Hohenzollernism may feign reform or even revolution to deceive the Allies and its own people. But it cannot change its skin; and it will never be 'realist' enough to see the necessity. In the Prussian Upper House last month, Count Yorck von Wartenburg said: "Liberty is the greatest of all the evils, and life in the trenches has taught the people the necessity and the benefits of inequality." That Prussianism may be broken, but it can never bend. When peace comes, the Prussian example will have given a lesson to Germany in two ways. The Imperial Government will have, it is to be hoped, absolutely failed to achieve the national ends, and there are still minds in Germany free and intelligent enough to search for the reason. It will further have reduced the people to the most terrible economic suffering, which will not end with the war. These, at least, are the two conditions which render a nation ripe for revolution, and their neighbours have shown the way.

One more external effect is worth noting. At last the war is a union of democracies against a group of military bureaucracies. It cannot be doubted that the sentiment of the United States has been affected by the accession of Russia to the ranks of democracy. Roughly, it might be said that this war was



between the old Roman Empire and the peoples on or outside her boundaries, if we leave Russia out of account. The war is a struggle of the older and stabler Western civilization, the inheritors of Rome, against a new and less deeply civilized power. Now Russia has in spirit joined the West, although the path before her is a long one. It is in a sense unfortunate that the pictures of Mr. Stephen Graham have so much influenced English feeling. Charming as they are, they represent an essentially aesthetic attitude, which seeks out for admiration things noble, but also things beautiful in decay. It is to be hoped that Russia will not break from what is fine in her traditions and become a mere imitator of the worst in our industrial civilization, but the conscious antiquarianism which would keep her petrified for the aesthetic pleasure of Westerners is a sorry thing. The true stream of Russian life can be tasted in her great writers and in the work now going on, and it is a far richer life than Mr. Graham has ever seen. Italians have been irritated by the English habit of treating their country as if its history had stopped with the Renaissance. We must beware of taking a similar attitude towards Russia. A true *entente* will depend upon an appreciation of Russia's present tasks and her efforts to transform a dead system into the living expression of the nation.

### *The War Cabinet.*

While war has brought liberty to autocratic Russia, some just men, trembling for the Ark, fear that it has imposed bureaucracy on free England. This complaint does not rest upon the necessary expansion of departments during a war, but upon the shifting of power which has gradually taken place in these three years. The accession of Mr. Lloyd George has simply been the last and most dramatic step in the process. What justice may be in the charge will be asked presently. It can at once be said that part at least of the fervour with which it is urged is due to personal antipathies.

Had it not been for the Roumanian disaster and the dead season in the West, the Coalition might have weathered the war. It had long been sapped from without and within, but a curious spectator might have remarked that its ups and downs on the whole corresponded to brisk and dull times at the front.



It had to suffer, not only for its own mistakes, but for the nerves of those at home. The final blow came over a question of organization; the *Times* committed a calculated indiscretion; and Mr. Lloyd George came into power. His whole mind is bent on winning the war, and the nation is cordially behind him in that.

Neither Mr. Asquith nor M. Briand have been allowed to reap the fruits of their long labours and anxieties. Of course there have been many mistakes—how could it be otherwise—in such a colossal struggle, but when they resigned the crest had been passed, and the Allies so far as human foresight can see, are secure from defeat. It is the enemy, after planning and preparing all, who made the worst mistake in precipitating a struggle he was to lose, and capped it with errors to which the Dardanelles failure is almost a small thing. There are already signs of a reaction of feeling. The campaign of abuse has lasted a little too long and gone a little too far. This is how one of the Northcliffe organs speaks of Lord Kitchener after the Dardanelles report was issued:

“As for the latter-day Lord Kitchener—*amiable, amusing, vacillating*—the public knew as little about him as they did about the real state of affairs in the corpse-strewn peninsula. An easy-going man, with a narrow forehead, . . . he had one faculty in his latter days—he spoke as little as possible in Council for fear of giving himself away. By then he had become emotional and senile . . . This was the real Lord Kitchener . . . The other Kitchener, the strong, silent man, was the creation of G. W. Stevens.” [*That is, a Northcliffe creation*].

This vile passage was written for the gutter from the gutter, but it is an interesting specimen of the mass of suggestion and innuendo which has been used to discredit the ‘senile’ figures of the ‘old gang.’ The Northcliffe orchestra has many instruments, some vessels of honour and some of dishonour, but all answer the same conductor and at command they play the same tune. In the degraded atmosphere of suspicion and self-seeking created by such means, fair judgment is a hard thing. But it is permissible to hazard one conjecture. No saying has been more quoted and abused than the famous ‘Wait and see.’ This phrase and a few others, such as ‘my spiritual home’, have been as the five pebbles from the brook for a certain class of controversialist. It may well be that a right instinct has

led these critics to fasten upon the words. Some years before the war Mr. Asquith was speaking in his old College at Oxford, and he said that his public life had taught him the truth of one saying of the younger Pitt. When asked the most necessary virtue of a statesman, he replied, 'Patience, and patience, and again patience.' These words reappear in undress in Mr. Asquith's dictum. He has had to bear the burden of the slow gathering of our forces while all hung in the balance on the Continent, when the future was visible to faith alone. In such an immense task there was bound to be miscalculation and misjudgment at times, but the main need was patient strength and a view of the whole. This the country owes to Mr. Asquith and Lord Kitchener. Lincoln used words something like this: 'The country will forgive me many mistakes if I bring them to victory in the end.' To make victory possible has been the work of the old Government.

Their successors have been too short a time in office for any fair judgment. The division of labour between the expert staffs and the statesmen had already been made, however slowly. The new Government have introduced a sharp distinction between the War Executive and the administrative ministers, a distinction which the French have not thought it necessary to follow. At Paris the War Council consists of the responsible heads of departments carrying on the war. The merits of either course can only be discovered by experience. At first there was clearly some dislocation, as contradictory orders were issued where more than one department had to do with the same subject. This came from rapid decisions where all the interests concerned were not consulted. But it is unfair to urge the inevitable hitches in initiating a new system as if they were essential defects. The nerve of the criticism urged against the latest form of Government is its dissociation from Parliament and the lack of collective responsibility. Let us, however, remember the steps that have led to the present situation. For twenty years there have been complaints of the increasing power of the Cabinet as against Parliament. Further, owing to the size of the Cabinet, an inner ring of four or five members really dictated its policy. When war broke out, this inner body became more formal, changing in powers and composition from time to time. Necessarily it had execu-

tive power delegated to it from the Cabinet. On the other hand, the House of Commons tended to lose influence. Many of its members were at the war; it was impossible to discuss freely the only things that mattered; and latterly it had outlived its mandate. Nor could it well renew that mandate, since voters were at the front and the register was out of date. The present arrangement is not a leap, but the end of a long process, conditioned and perhaps justified by the war. I do not believe that it can continue in its present form after the war—the House of Commons would not stand that—but for the purposes of this great struggle the Executive Council will be judged and justified by its success. Its main danger will be internal questions, such as Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George was not at his happiest in the first Irish debate, but fortunately the Government is making another attempt to devise a practicable measure—if any Irish measure is practicable.

A. S. FERGUSON.











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